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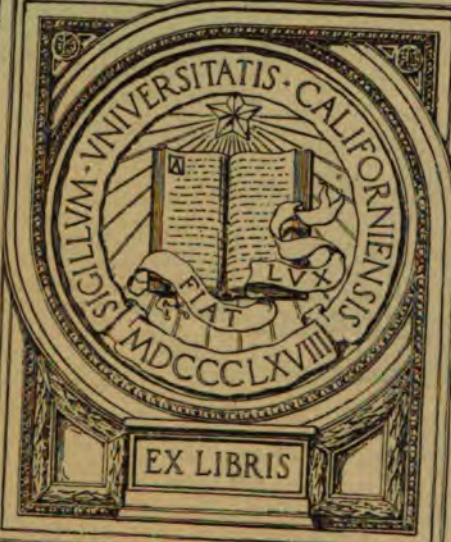
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THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 10

COMPRISING

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS AND HIS TIMES

Clarence M. Burton

INCLUDING THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE McCULLY
AND VARIOUS LETTERS OF THE PERIOD.

WILLIAM ABBATT

141 EAST 25TH STREET,

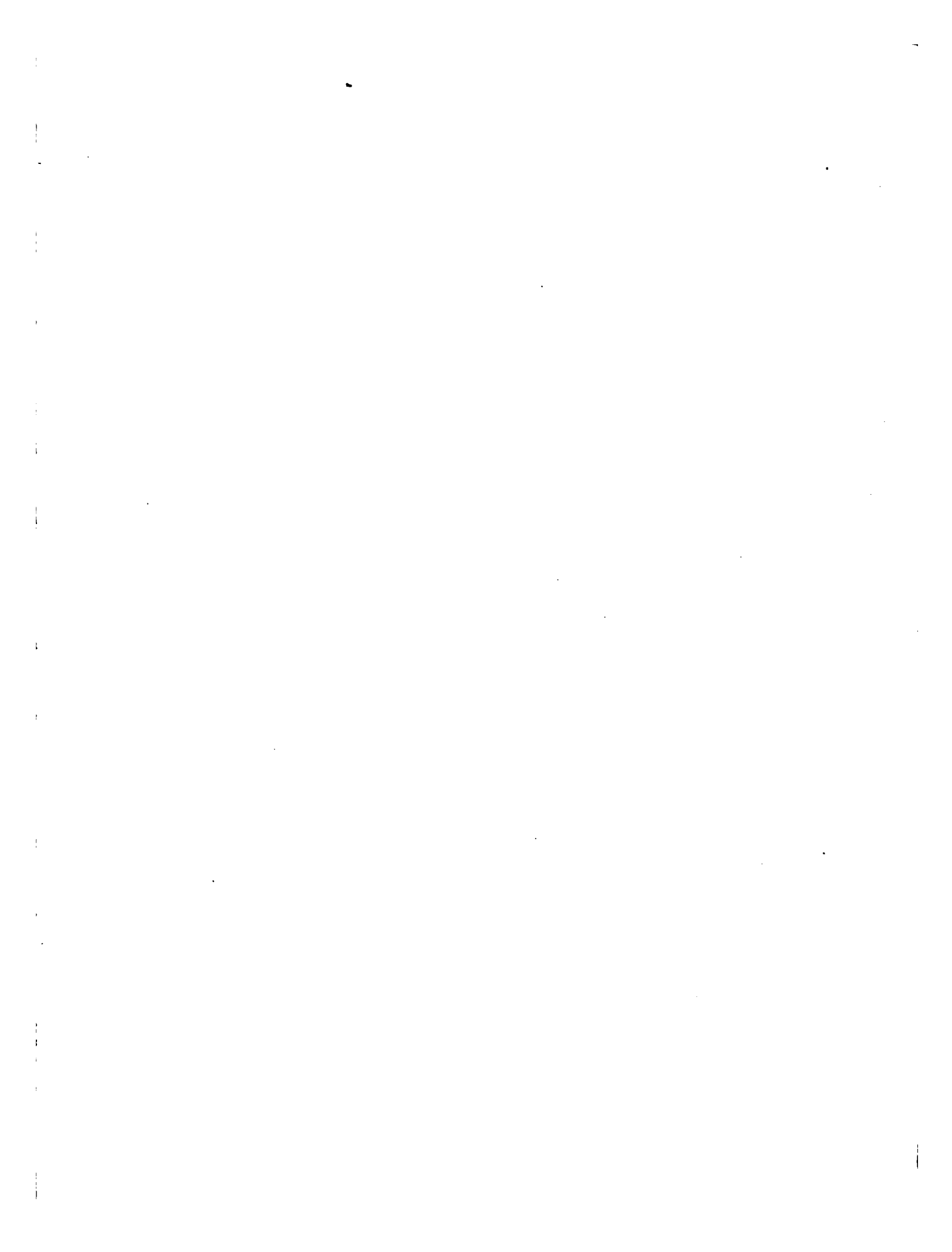
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NEW YORK

1910







GEN. EPHRAIM DOUGLASS

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS AND HIS TIMES

A FRAGMENT OF HISTORY

WITH

THE JOURNAL OF GEORGE McCULLY

(HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED)

AND VARIOUS LETTERS OF THE PERIOD.

BY

CLARENCE M. BURTON

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(Being Extra No. 10 of THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY WITH NOTES AND QUERIES.)

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PREFACE

THE two journals that are incorporated herein were written shortly after the close of the war of the American Revolution, and narrate in homely style the events of a trip to Detroit, the object of which was to notify the Indians of the terms of peace.

The narrators tramped many miles through an almost pathless wilderness on a fruitless errand. Their lives were constantly in danger from many sources. Their most dangerous enemy was the savage, for he was on the lookout for scalps and could not know that the errand of the travelers was one of peace. The two men were not impelled by the love of adventure or the excitement of ordinary travelers in undertaking this expedition. Nor were they actuated by any promises of pay for their troubles and trials, for it was many years before Congress authorized the payment for their services, and the men had both passed from among the living when a pittance was finally doled out to their descendants. They were going in order to perform a duty imposed upon them by Congress. That they were unsuccessful is not greatly to be wondered at, for the British officers in Canada were much disconcerted to find that peace had been declared, and did not propose to admit of defeat by the Americans until compelled to do so. The greater wonder is that Douglass and McCully traveled through the northwestern wilderness and met the various Indians and Indian tribes, and returned unharmed to their eastern homes.

The early history of the Northwest Territory is not well known. But few travelers have left a record of their journeys through its woods, and a hearty welcome is always extended to any new document that is found on the subject.

The journals are therefore of more than ordinary historical importance as they add a little to the scanty documentary records of that time and locality.

C. M. BURTON.

DETROIT, MICH.

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS AND HIS TIMES

NEGOTIATIONS for peace between the United States and England had been in progress during the early part of 1782 and the preliminaries were settled in the latter part of the same year. Although these negotiations were not officially made known to the contestants in America, there was a general idea that the war was about to close, hostilities were lessening, and even preparations for future hostilities were being quietly abandoned or held in abeyance to await future events.

The western Indians had long been taught by the British that the war was carried on partly for their benefit, and that if the Americans succeeded, the savages would soon be driven from their hunting grounds to make way for the advancing army of American colonists.

Now that peace was about to come, the British authorities saw the difficulties that would ensue when the Indians were informed of it. They would feel that the English had deserted their interests and had abandoned their cause. The influence exerted by the British over the Indians was never stronger than just at this time, when the war was about to close. They had used every argument in their power to prove that they were the friends and the Americans the enemies, of the Indians. They had led the Indians on their murderous incursions into the settlements of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. They had made presents to the Indian warriors and had assisted in providing for their families in their absence on these incursions; they had gathered the warriors in council many times at Detroit, Sandusky and other places, and had treated them as equals and as a part of the military force of the British Army.

It was not a difficult matter, at this time, to collect a numerous body of Indians to swoop down on some frontier settlement, murder or carry off the inhabitants, plunder the farms and burn the houses. The Indians were more than willing to assist in conducting this sort of warfare, and made many of these incursions on their own account and without asking the consent of the military officers at Niagara or Detroit.

In 1782 the great rendezvous for the Indians, and the *depôt* for the distribution of the Indians' presents, was Detroit. Next in importance in this work was Niagara, while Michilimackinac followed, and places of lesser size and importance were frequently used as distributing points and places for holding Indian councils.

Major Arent Schuyler DePeyster was in command at Detroit and Major Allan MacLean had charge of Fort Niagara. There were British soldiers stationed at both of these posts, and there were from time to time many American prisoners brought in by the Indians, and by the British soldiers or rangers. Where prisoners were held by the Indians they were sometimes bought by the English, and were then conveyed, with other prisoners, to Quebec, to be liberated or exchanged.

Sometimes the prisoners preferred to remain at Detroit, rather than return to their former homes, and some of the present people of that city are descendants of these prisoners ransomed from the Indians. The news of the pending settlement of the difficulties between America and England was known to the Indians early in 1783, and the depredations in the western settlements seemed to increase both in number and virulence.

The attention of Congress was called to these troubles by the frequent pleadings, petitions and recitals of Indian murders, from people in Pennsylvania and New York.

It was the opinion of some members of Congress that the Indians would cease their depredations as soon as they were in-

formed that peace had been declared, and upon being assured that they would not be disturbed in their hunting grounds.

A resolution was passed, May 1, 1788 directing the Secretary of War to take measures to inform the Indians of the declaration of peace.¹

In pursuance of this resolution, General Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary of War, appointed Ephraim Douglass a commissioner to carry the news of peace to the Indians, and directed him to go among them as far west as Detroit if necessary, on this errand. Douglass chose for his companion on the trip, Captain George McCully. They, together with one servant, undertook the expedition narrated in the annexed journals.

Upon completing the journey Douglass made an official report to Congress, then at Princeton, N. J., and a copy of the report was subsequently printed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*.²

The journal of Captain McCully has never before been printed. It is a fragment only, as will be seen, but gives more details, in some matters, than does the Douglass report. It was filed in the Pension Office by Ann McCully, the widow of George McCully, with her petition for a widow's pension, and has only recently been known to exist.

As importance is attached to the character of the men who made this perilous expedition, practically unprotected, through a wild country inhabited only by hostile Indians, such facts as can be collected regarding them are given herewith.

Ephraim Douglass was born about the year 1749.³ James Veech, author of the *Monongahela of Old*, evidently had the private papers of General Douglass and wrote with authority. He

¹ Journals of Congress, Vol. 4, page 218.

² *Penn. Arch.*, Vol. 10, page 72.

³ The original spelling must have been Douglas, as that is the Scotch form.

was unable to ascertain the birthplace of Douglass. His sketch, (page 149), is the most complete in existence and many of the facts herein given are taken from that work. See also *Old Westmoreland*, p. 190. These private papers have since been placed at the disposal of the writer hereof, but they contain no mention of Douglass' ancestry.

His father was a Scotchman named Adam Douglas. Ephraim had one brother, Joseph, and one sister, who married a man named Collins. She left three sons. It is probable that Ephraim was born in one of the southern states (see his letter of Feb. 11, 1784) and that he went to Pittsburg about 1769, working among the officers in the fort there, and that he was subsequently engaged in the Indian trade with Richard Butler,⁴ and Devereux Smith. Matthew Elliot, who ran away from Pittsburg as a suspected loyalist, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, was an intimate acquaintance of Douglass and met him again, under changed circumstances, as narrated in his journal. Douglass was at Pittsburg in 1774 at the time Lord Dunmore sent John Connolly to that place to organize the County of Dunmore. Connolly organized the County and changed the name of Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore. Elliott, Simon Girty and his brothers, Alexander McKee, John Connolly and others, who took an active part in this first movement in the great war, all escaped to Detroit to be within the British lines, and most of them lived and died in or near that place.

Douglass was engaged in all kinds of work during his first years in Pittsburg. He was a carpenter by occupation, but was fairly well educated in English and acted as clerk, blacksmith, gun-smith, stone-mason, bookkeeper, scrivener and shopkeeper. He engaged in trade with the Indians, and acquired a knowledge of their languages sufficient to act as interpreter.

It is said that about this time, on one of his trading trips into

⁴ General Richard Butler who was killed at St. Clair's defeat, 1791.

the Indian Country, his canoe was overturned in deep water and he was nearly drowned. Upon reaching the shore he was so exhausted as to be unable to proceed, and concluded he must die there in the wilderness. He wrote his final words upon a piece of bark, as follows:

“I have lived doubtful, but not dissolute. I die undetermined, but not unresigned.

E. DOUGLASS.”

He recovered, however, and continued his Indian trade, sometimes alone and at other times in partnership with other men.

When the Revolution broke out and it became necessary to raise troops in Western Pennsylvania, the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment was formed with Æneas McCoy (Mackay) as Colonel, George Wilson, lieutenant Colonel, and Richard Butler Major, and on September 23, 1776 Congress appointed David McClure chaplain and Ephraim Douglass quartermaster.⁵

Just two months later, November 23, 1776, the regiment was ordered to march at once to Brunswick, New Jersey, or to join Washington wherever he might be.⁶

As the regiment was raised for the purpose of defending the western frontier, some of the officers and soldiers were reluctant to march from the neighborhood of their homes. Lieutenant Colonel Wilson wrote that he hoped the regiment would get over this trouble “by leaving over trifeling officers behind who pretend to have more witt then seven men that can render a reason.”

They did not begin their march until January 6, 1777 and then endured great hardships, marching and sleeping in the snow. Both

⁵ *Amer. Arch.*, 5th series, Vol. 2, pages 7 and 1338.

⁶ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, Vol. X, page 641.

the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel died on the way, and Daniel Brodhead became Colonel, and Butler Lieutenant-Colonel.

Douglass was here transferred and became aide-de-camp to General Benjamin Lincoln. Acting in this capacity he was at Bound Brook, New Jersey, with a small detachment of troops, where he was surprised and taken prisoner by the British on the morning of April 13, 1777.⁷

The history of the next three and one-half years of his life is the same as that of the other American prisoners of war. They being liberated. England refused to acknowledge them as entitled were treated as rebels and not as prisoners, and for a long time subjected to every possible indignity, with little prospect of ever to the rights of prisoners of war, and would not permit them to be exchanged for British soldiers, who were captives. Indeed there were many more prisoners among the British than among the Americans, and the chance for exchange was very remote when exchanges were permitted.⁸

However, Commissary-General Abraham Skinner finally effected an exchange and Douglass was set at liberty November

⁷ On April 13, Generals Grant and Mathew, with two battalions of Hessians, and other troops, marched from New Brunswick, New Jersey, and surprised a large body of rebels stationed at Boundbrook, seven miles from that city; commanded by General Lincoln. The rebels were put to flight, one hundred were killed, seventy-three were taken prisoners, among whom was one of Lincoln's aides-de-camp, one captain and one lieutenant. The prisoners were brought to New York and lodged in gaol. Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, 416. See also, "Battle of Bound Brook," an address by T. E. Davis. *Penn. Mag. of Hist., and Bio.* XVII, 165, Prisoners of War at Gravesend. See a note on the Battle of Bound Brook in Notes and Queries (Egle) for 1896, page 175, and another in the same series for 1899, page 238.

⁸ A partial list of these prisoners, including the name of Ephraim Douglass, is given in "An Historical Pay Roll" printed in Notes and Queries (Egle) series 4, vol. 1, page 204.

27, 1780,⁹ though it is possible he was paroled a short time previous to that date. He returned to Pittsburg, where he remained for some time, apparently only employed in attending to his private affairs and recuperating his health. On August 29, 1781, he wrote as follows, from that place.

"I am here a mere spectator of the affairs of this Country, and in some respects consider myself very happy in being no more involved in them than I represent myself."¹⁰ This letter is very interesting and gives the news of the departure of Clark's expedition from Pittsburg, which was originally intended as an enterprise against Detroit. It also contains the information of a proposed attack on the Western settlements by the British and Indians from Detroit, under the leadership of Douglass' old friend, Matthew Elliott.

⁹ Saffell, *Records of the Revolution*, 322. Penn. Arch., 2d series, Vol. X, page 652. While still a prisoner his position in the army was changed to the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment where he appears as lieutenant from June 2, 1778 to January 26, 1779. From this regiment he was transferred to the Fifth Pennsylvania, January 17, 1781. (2d series Penn. Arch. X, 676.) Richard Butler was colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania from June 7, 1777. The following is an extract from a letter of Washington to Lincoln, dated October 25, 1777: "I observe, by the terms of General Burgoyne's capitulation, that an exchange of prisoners may probably take place; if so, the number of officers taken in his army will liberate all ours. In that case Mr. Douglass, your aide-de-camp, will soon be redeemed, but if this exchange should not take place, you may depend that Mr. Douglass shall be called for as soon as it comes his turn, for I have made it an invariable rule to give a preference to those who have been longest in captivity." *Am. His. Rec.*, Vol. 1, page 519. Sparks', *Washington*, Vol. 5, page 116: Douglass was promoted from ensign to lieutenant, January 27, 1779, while he was a prisoner of war.—*Army Register* 22.

There is a tradition in the family related by his grandson, Ephraim Douglass King, that when Douglass was a prisoner and after his repeated attempts to be exchanged had failed, he one night dropped overboard from his prison ship and swam ashore to freedom. He always spelled his name Douglass.

¹⁰ Letter to Gen. James Irvine, Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Vol. 4, page 247.

Veech says that in the winter of 1781, Douglass was sent by the Government into the Indian country on some secret mission, and as evidence of that undertaking, he quotes from a letter of General Irvine dated July 10, 1782, written to Douglass, as follows: "I had heard of your magnanimous enterprise in penetrating alone in the Indian country—that you had been absent and not heard from for some months, that the time fixed for your return was elapsed and that your friends about Pittsburg had given you up as lost."¹¹

The events of the fall and winter of 1781 in Western Pennsylvania are detailed, in part, in the accounts of the Indian murders and the sending out of Colonel David Williamson who, with his troops, committed that atrocious murder of the Moravian or Christian Indians, known as the "Gnadenhütten Massacre," in March 1782, and in the preparations for the attack of Colonel Crawford on Sandusky. It is said that Colonel Gibson, at Pittsburg, learned of the proposed attack of Williamson on the Moravian Indians and sent an express to warn them of their danger.

The messenger came too late, and the horrible and uncalled-for murder of innocent Indians who had taken no part in the controversy, followed the coming of Williamson. It is possible that Douglass was the messenger who was sent out by Gibson on this errand of mercy.¹²

In July 1782 Douglass wrote to General James Irvine giving an imperfect account of the destruction of Hannah's Town (July 13, 1782) and a short time later in the same month, in a second letter on the same subject, he gives a more detailed account of this affair. In this letter he says that his "health is as usual, neither

¹¹ *The Monongahela of Old*, 149.

¹² The sending of this messenger is mentioned in Crawford's *Expedition against Sandusky*, 38, but the name of the messenger is not given. Gibson was in command at Fort Pitt,

to be boasted of nor much to be pitied. My greatest misfortune is the want of something to employ the restless, active mind—even the savage consolation of wandering thro' the lonesome but hospitable woods is denied me by the frequency of the Indians' visits to this wretched country.¹³

The letter refers to earlier letters that are nowhere printed, but from the contents of this one it might be supposed that Douglass had not fully recovered from his confinement in prison at Gravesend, and was resting and recuperating, not engaged in any undertaking.

The letters that follow show the number of Indian incursions was on the increase. The burning of homes and villages by the Indians and the carrying off of families, either to be tomahawked or sold as captives as best suited the circumstances of the captors, became more and more frequent.

Plans were prepared for the invasion of the Indian country from Fort Pitt, and Northumberland,¹⁴ but were stopped by direction of Washington, upon assurances of Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) that no further war parties would be sent out from the Western posts.¹⁵

It is possible that it was the intention of the British to discourage the Indians from further warfare, but they took no very earnest measures to prevent them from continuing their depredations. They frequently assembled them in council at Detroit and gave them food, clothing and arms to keep them firm in their adherence to British interests. If the Indians were not assisted

¹³ This letter is dated at Pittsburg, July 26, 1782. *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Bio.* 1. 44. A part of the letter is printed in the *Washington-Irvine Correspondence*, page 388. There are several other letters from Douglass in this volume.

¹⁴ *Penn. Arch.* (first series) IX, 680.

¹⁵ *Id.* 641. General Irvine was directed to stop the western expedition.

by the British they carried on the war independently and their incursions continued as formerly;¹⁶ certainly their arms and ammunition came from British sources. Douglass was appointed Intendant of Prisoners and drew pay for house rent, forage and rations from September second 1782 till April thirtieth 1783.

In November 1782 the preliminary treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain was signed at Paris, and within a short time the news was brought to America.

As Indian affairs did not grow better, the Pennsylvania Council sent the following letter to the delegates in Congress:

“April 4, 1783.

“The particular circumstances of this State render an attention to Indian affairs indispensably necessary; and as the present time seems in several respects favorable for obtaining a final and advantageous settlement of all differences, we earnestly desire that you will use your utmost exertions in Congress, to prevail on that honorable body to adopt without loss of time the most¹⁷ effectual measures for making peace with all the Indian nations.” As Congress took no action on the subject of this letter, the Council of Pennsylvania wrote again regarding it on April 29th as follows: “Council wrote to you some time ago desiring that you would endeavor to have the most effectual measures speedily adopted by Congress for making peace with the Indian nations. Having lately received advices that about forty inhabitants of this State have been killed and taken by them, and having good reason to be assured that these hostilities will be continued

¹⁶ *Penn. Arch.* IX, 657. There are many reports here of depredations and murders in Pennsylvania.

¹⁷ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 25.

along the frontiers, we think it our duty earnestly to repeat our request. Perhaps the United States might appear more respectable to those nations at a treaty to be held with them after the delivery of Niagara and Detroit to us by the British, but, in the meantime we hope such steps may be taken as may be the means of saving many lives, and preventing great calamities. We wish Congress would be pleased to consider whether it might not have a good effect upon the Indians to inform them by authority, that peace has been made with Great Britain, the articles of which are now carrying into execution; that the back country with all the forts is thereby ceded to us; that they must now depend upon us for their preservation and that unless they immediately cease from their outrages and remain quiet till we can hold a treaty with them at Niagara or Detroit, we will instantly turn upon them our armies that have conquered the King of Great Britain and now have no other enemies to employ their valor, and extirpate them from the land where they were born and now live; but if they behave as they ought to do, they shall be treated not only justly but friendly. Such intelligence as this with the advance of a proper reinforcement to General Irvine at Pittsburg and the exertions of the troops under his command, might put a stop to the cruelties of the savages, or at least prevent their becoming more extensive.”¹⁸ This letter was presented to Congress on the first day of May, and the following resolution of that body was immediately adopted. “Resolved that the Sec’y of War, take the most effectual measures to inform the several Indian nations on the frontiers of the United States that preliminary articles of peace have been agreed on and hostilities have ceased with Great Britain,

¹⁸ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 45.

and to communicate to them that the forts within the United States and in possession of the British troops will be speedily evacuated, intimating also that the United States are disposed to enter into friendly treaties with the different tribes and to inform the hostile Indian Nations that unless they immediately cease all hostilities against the Citizens of these States and accept of these friendly proffers of peace, Congress will take the most decided measures to compel them thereto."¹⁹

General Lincoln was then Secretary of War, and it was quite natural that he should choose, as the commissioner to carry the above resolutions to the Indians, his old aide-de-camp, Ephraim Douglass, who was then at Princeton. Douglass at once set out upon his journey, leaving Princeton on May 3, and starting from Pittsburg, fully equipped, as early as June 7th.²⁰

The journal kept by Douglass narrates his travels and we will omit any account concerning him until his return.

Upon his return to Princeton he presented his report to Congress, dated August 18, 1783.²¹ He had received no pay for the expenses of his trip, nor for his time, but in expectation of an allowance from Congress, he waited in Philadelphia until the following October and then sent this letter to Congress:

"Philadelphia Oct. 14, 1783.

Having about the middle of August had the honor of making a report to Congress of a tour through the Indian Country, by order of the Secretary of War, I

¹⁹ *Journals of Congress*, Ed. 1823, vol. 4, p. 218, and *Penn. Arch.*, X, 46. Washington Irvine Cor. 188.

²⁰ Washington Irvine Cor. 188, 413 and 414.

²¹ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 88.

have since waited at a very great expence in the belief that I should have the honor of hearing that some order had been taken in consequence of my application for an allowance to pay for this service; and being in great want of money I hope I shall be forgiven for reminding Congress of that application and for declaring the necessity which obliges me to repeat it."²²

This letter was addressed to Elias Boudinot, President of Congress. In order to accomplish the errand that he was sent on, Douglass had ridden or walked through the wilderness from Pittsburg to Sandusky and thence to Detroit, practically unattended, for he had no other companions than Captain McCully, a servant and two friendly Indians. These few persons could have availed little against unfriendly savages. From Detroit he had gone to Niagara by permission of DePeyster, and with an escort furnished by him; from MacLean at Niagara another escort was furnished, so that the danger of surprise and assassination by savages was lessened, but throughout the entire trip there was no time at which, or place in which he could feel assured of safety. When we read of the massacres and scalpings that took place all over the frontier country at that time, we are surprised that these two men passed through the land to Detroit and returned to their homes in safety. For this tedious journey and great risk, Congress awarded Douglass the sum of five hundred dollars,²³ and

²² *Continental Papers*, 78. Vol. 8, page 35.

²³ *Monongahela of Old*, 149. Among General Douglass' papers is one reading as follows: "The United States in Congress assembled, October 17, 1783, ordered that a report of the Secretary of War that five hundred dollars be paid to Ephraim Douglass as a reward for his services in going to the Canadian Country, be referred to the Superintendent of Finance to take order. Extract from the minutes. Geo. Bond, Depy. Sec." No such record appears in the Journals as printed. General Douglass never applied for payment of this amount, probably because he considered it too paltry a

this was only granted after he had presented his claims a second time and called attention to his necessities. While Douglass was awaiting the tardy action of Congress it was proposed to organize the County of Fayette in the western part of Pennsylvania, and he asked for the appointment of prothonotary in the new County.²⁴ Upon the organization of a new County but sparsely settled, it was customary to appoint but few persons to office, as there was little work to be done, but each office holder was permitted, or expected, to fill several offices. So it happened that Douglass obtained the following several appointments in the new County of Fayette:

Prothonotary, October 6, 1783.

Judge of Common Pleas, October 9, 1783.

Clerk of Court of Quarter Sessions, October 9, 1783.

Clerk of Orphans' Court October 9, 1783.²⁵

Shortly after the organization of the County the first Court was held, at Union Town, and preparations made for running the line of demarcation between the new County of Fayette and the old County of Westmoreland. The new County was divided into townships. The old quarrels about the ownership of lands, that had long existed between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, appeared to be on the verge of cropping out on this occasion, and it was concluded unwise to agitate the matter until, as Douglass reported, "the authority of the Court becomes by degrees and habitude of

sum for the services he had performed. I was with my mother in Pittsburg, in 1854, when she received the money, *seventy-one* years after it was ordered paid.—E. Douglass King (grandson), to the Editor, 1910.

²⁴ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 118, Oct. 2, 1783. He was in Philadelphia at this date. Fayette was formed from Westmoreland County.—*Colonial Records*, XIII, 702, 702.

²⁵ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, pages 687, etc. *Colonial Records*, XIII, 702, 704.

obedience more firmly established in the general acquiescence of all descriptions of people within the county, and a gaol and the other objects of popular terror be erected to impress on their minds an idea of the punishment annexed to a breach of the laws."²⁶

On the sixth of the following February an election of justice of the peace was held. Douglass gave the following description of the successful candidates to the Council.

“Colonel MacLean, though not the first on the list, needs no character from me—he has the honor to be known to council.”

James Finley²⁷ is a man of good understanding, good character and well situated to accommodate that part of the township most remote from the town. Henry Beeson is the proprietor of the town; a man of much modesty, good sense and great benevolence of heart, and one whose liberality of property for public uses justly entitles him to particular attention from the County, however far it may be a consideration with Council.

Jonathan Rowland is also a good man, with a good share of understanding, and a better English education than either of the two last mentioned; but unfortunately, of a profession rather too much opposed to the suppression of vice and immorality; he keeps a tavern in the town.

John Gaddis is a man I do not know personally; one who has at a former election, in the then township of Manallin, been returned to Council, but never commis-

²⁶ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 553.

²⁷ Rev. James Finley, was sent by the General Assembly in 1783 to bring the citizens of the Western part of the State, who were proposing to form a new Government, to a sense of their obligations to government. *Penn. Arch.*, X, 40, 41, and 168.

sioned, from what reason I do not know; his popularity is with those who have been most conspicuous for their opposition to the laws of this commonwealth.

Moses Sutton is remarkable for nothing but aspiring obscurity, and great facility at chanting a psalm or stammering a prayer."²⁸

With all his garrulousness, Douglass seemed to have been well liked personally, and was continued in office for many years.

In a letter written at this time he gives a description of his new home in Uniontown and also intimates the place of his birth:

He writes "Uniontown is the most obscure spot on the face of the earth. . . . We have been frozen up here for more than a month past, but a great many of us having been bred in another state, the eating of hominy is as natural to us as the drinking of whisky in the morning.

The town and its appurtenances consist of our president and a lovely little family, a court-house and school-house in one, a mill, and consequently a miller, four taverns, three smith shops, five retail shops, two tan yards, one of them only occupied, two hatter's shops, one mason, one cake-woman, (we had two but one of them having committed a petit larceny is upon banishment), two widows and some reputed maids. To which may be added a distillery. The upper part of this edifice is the habitation at will of your humble servant, who, beside the smoke of his own chimney, which is intolerable enough, is fumigated by that of the two stills below, exclusive of the other effluvia that arises from the dirty vessels in which they prepare the materials for the stills. The upper floor

²⁸ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 555.

of my parlour, which is also my chamber and office, is laid with loose clapboards or puncheons, and both the gable ends entirely open; and yet this is the best place in my power to procure till weather will permit me to build, and even this I am subject to be turned out of the moment the owner, who is at Kentucky and hourly expected, returns."

The general curse of the country, disunion, rages in this little mudhole with as much malignity as if they had each pursuits of the utmost importance, and the most opposed to each other, when in truth they had no pursuits at all, that deserve the name, except that of obtaining food and whiskey, for raiment they scarcely use any.²⁹

A log jail was built the same year,³⁰ and it seems to have been much needed. The country was divided into political factions. Some were in favor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, some in favor of Virginia, some wanted a new and independent government and some were Tories, in favor of the government of England or none whatever. Many of them were engaged in or concerned with the manufacture of whiskey. They were unwilling to pay the excise or to conform to any law that obstructed the manufacture or sale of the article. Here was a turbulent community, with many varieties of opposition to law. The officer who could so conduct his office as not to gain the contempt and ill feeling of the citizens was very fortunate, and perhaps very skilful. The necessity of a jail was seriously felt, if we rely upon the report made by Douglass to Secretary Armstrong, May 29, 1784. He writes:

²⁹ Letter of Feb. 11, 1784, *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, 1, 50.

³⁰ Letter of Douglass to Dickinson, Feb. 2, 1784, in *Hist. Fayette Co.*, page 136, "necessity has suggested to us the expediency of building a temporary gaol by subscription, which is now on foot."

“The County Commissioners are so much counteracted by the rabble of this country that it appears hardly probable the taxes will ever be collected on the present mode. In the township of Manallin in particular, which includes this place, agreeable to its limits in the duplicate, the terror of undertaking the duty of collector, has determined several to refuse it under the high penalty annexed. Two only have accepted it, and these have both been robbed by some ruffians unknown, and in the night, of their duplicates. The inhabitants of the other townships have not gone such lengths, but complain so much of the hardship and the want of money that I fear little is to be hoped from them. On the other hand the banditti from Bucks County, or some other equally bad or more probably both, have established themselves in some part of this county not certainly known, but thought to be the deserted part of Washington County, whence they make frequent incursions into the settlements under cover of the night, terrify the inhabitants, sometimes beat them unmercifully, and always rob them of their property as they think proper, and then retire to their lurking places.”²¹

Douglass was land-poor at this time, having an abundance of land from which little or no income could be derived. He had in 1783 three hundred acres in Westmoreland County, and was assessed for land in Pitt township, in Manallin township and in Union township. In 1788 he was assessed for an additional 238 acres in Westmoreland County.²²

²¹ *Penn. Arch.*, X, 582, *Hist. Fayette Co.*, 131, where there are some affidavits on the same subject.

²² *Penn. Arch.*, 3d series XXII, 399, 447, 485, and in XXVI, 422.

In 1789 he was appointed the agent for forfeited estates.²³ These estates consisted of property, which had been seized by the government as belonging to traitors and those who were charged with being opposed to the government of the United States, during the time of the revolution. The estates were placed in the hands of agents for the state, for care, inventory and disposition under direction of law. It is said that but one case of a forfeited estate, that of Dr. Anthony Yendall of Philadelphia, ever came to his charge. When Douglass first moved to Uniontown he carried a stock of goods with him, but when this was disposed of he no longer engaged in that business but devoted himself to his official duties and to surveying.²⁴

The troubles in the western part of the State culminated in 1794 in the rebellion commonly called the Whiskey Insurrection. The object of the rioters was to prevent the imposition and collection of an excise on whiskey, but the real object, more deeply seated, was the destruction of a representative government and the formation of one of pure democracy.²⁵ The officers of the law used their efforts, in vain, to allay the troubles, but, in spite of all their work, the rioting and house burning increased and murder

²³ *Col. Rec.* XVI, 27.

²⁴ *Monongahela of Old*, 149. He was County treasurer from Oct. 13, 1784 till 1800. *Hist. Fayette*, 151. He was put down as a slaveholder in the census report, id., 128. He kept an account book, the first entry in which is dated June 6, 1773. There are no entries between April 1, 1774 and September 3, 1784. The last entry in the book is as follows: "Memorandum, Nell, my slave, was delivered of a female mulattoe child on the 11th day of October, 1790, and called it Peggy. E. Douglass."

²⁵ This idea appears in several of Washington's letters of this time. "Intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done" (calling out the militia), "it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order has actuated many of the offenders." Washington's annual address in *Messages of the Presidents*, Vol. 1, page 165.

was added to the other and lesser crimes. At the request of the Secretary of War acting under a Federal Statute, the various States called out their militia to the number of 15,000 and held them in readiness to take the field. The Pennsylvania detachment numbered 10,768. The Fourth Division of Pennsylvania militia was organized under Major General John Gibson, and under him Ephraim Douglass was appointed Brigadier General of the first brigade, with militia from Washington and Fayette counties to the number of 937.³⁶ James Wilson, Judge of the United States Court, officially notified President Washington of the existence of insurrection on the fourth of August, 1794, and three days later Washington issued a proclamation warning the insurgents to desist from their opposition to law.³⁷ At the same time James Ross, Jasper Yeates and William Bradford were appointed a committee to visit the western counties and undertake to bring the deluded persons to a realization of their situation. The excitement reached its height in the early part of August. As one of the evidences of the enthusiasm of the rioters, they erected "liberty poles" in various places in their neighborhood where a crowd could be collected to witness the pole raising and take part in the exercises. One of these poles was erected on the Morgantown road south of Uniontown, on the farm of Thomas Gaddis, who was one of the principal leaders of the "whiskey boys" in Fayette County. This pole, as well as one in Uniontown, was cut down by General Douglass in defiance of all threats and intimidations.³⁸ Little opposition was, however, shown to the workings of this rebellious element of the country and the officers of the government who were appointed to collect the tax were driven from the district.

³⁶ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, IV, 766. Douglass was appointed Brigadier-General of the County of Fayette, by Governor Thomas Mifflin, April 19, 1793.

³⁷ These papers are printed in various volumes but in the *American State Pap.* (G. and S. ed., 1834) they are found collected on pages 83, et seq.

³⁸ *Hist. Fayette Co.*, 167.

Various persons acting as Committees of factions of the insurgents, now met the government commissions and, after some negotiations, agreed that all further depredations should cease and that law and order should again rule. It appeared, however, from the statements of these men that they were unable to control all of the rioters and were afraid that the "ill disposed lawless ones could suddenly assemble and offer violence." Not being able to assure the President of an obedience to the laws, the commissioners returned to Philadelphia and made their report September 24, 1794. In this report they stated that the usual police force of the western district was not sufficient to command a due respect for the laws and that a "more competent force is necessary to cause the laws to be executed, and to ensure to the officers and well disposed citizens that protection which it is the duty of Government to afford."³⁹

There was nothing left for the government to do but to proceed to enforce the law, and the next day after this report was made, Washington issued a proclamation summoning into service the militia of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

Henry Lee, governor of Virginia, was placed at the head of the troops and marched westward.⁴⁰ The President also set out for the west, on the first of October and proceeded as far as Carlisle. By this time the people had come to the conclusion that the government was in earnest, and William Findley and David Redick were appointed by the insurrectionists to meet Washington at Carlisle⁴¹ and tell him of their peaceful disposition and of their determination to support the civil authority. It was evident now, as Governor Mifflin said, that "the insurgents vainly pre-

³⁹ *Am. St. P. ed.*, 1834, Vol. XX, 83, where all the official papers are collected.

See also Brackenridge's *Hist. of the Whiskey Insurrection*.

⁴⁰ It would appear from Washington's letter of Oct. 8, 1794 (*Letters* vol. 12, p. 469) that he personally headed the troops until that day.

⁴¹ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series IV, 389.

sumed upon their own prowess or upon the insolent hope that a competent force could not be sent against them, and they indulged the spirit of outrage, without remorse or restraint,"⁴² but they felt differently as they saw the army of militia increasing in number as new recruits joined it at every cross road and village.

Washington met the commissioners at Carlisle on October 10th, and was informed that the citizens who were peaceably inclined were afraid that the advance of the militia would disturb the country and that violence would ruin it. They therefore asked that he rely upon their efforts to suppress the disorder,⁴³ but as they could offer no assurances that the Country would remain quiet and that order would be restored, the President told them that the progress of the army would not be stopped until the people had returned to their allegiance.

The commissioners returned to their constituents to obtain more complete assurances that the disturbances would cease, and Washington continued on until he reached Bedford.

Congress was about to assemble and Washington decided that he would return to Philadelphia to meet it, and departed from Bedford on the 22d of October. The commissioners, with further assurances of the peaceful disposition of the people, set out to meet him at Bedford, not knowing of his return. The Commission now consisted of Finley, Redick, Ephraim Douglass and Thomas Morton, the two latter being added at the meeting at Parkinson's Ferry October 24th. The report of this committee is dated at Uniontown, November 1, 1794,⁴⁴ and recites that the committee went to Bedford to meet the President, but that he had returned to Philadelphia before their arrival and that they there met Governor Henry Lee and presented the resolutions of the

⁴² Address of Mifflin to the militia of Lancaster, *Penn. Arch.*, 2d ser. IV., 370.

⁴³ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d Ser. IV., 16.

⁴⁴ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, IV, 437.

meeting at Parkinson's Ferry. Lee informed them that he proposed to take the army as far as Pittsburg and there he would await the restoration of order. If the mandates of the courts were obeyed and order was restored without force, he would retire with the army as soon as possible. "On my part" he said, "and on the part of the patriotic army I have the honor to command, assure your fellow citizens that we come to protect and not to destroy, and that our respect for our common government and respect for our own honor, are ample pledge of the propriety of our demeanor."

The army was at Uniontown November 2, 1794, and after proceeding westward in detachments, it was found that order had been completely restored and the return march was begun on the 16th of the same month.⁴⁵ While it cannot be said that all of the inhabitants of the western part of the State quietly returned to their individual avocations, it might properly be maintained that open and avowed defiance of the law was at an end, and there was no longer a concerted refusal to pay the whiskey tax.

There had been a feeling in this part of the State that the Government of the United States was weak and unable to protect its officers, or even to preserve itself from destruction within a short time. The collection of the militia, the rapid march to Pittsburg, the determination to uphold the law, were alike surprising to the citizens and to the insurgents. Thereafter the laws were respected with better grace. It was, however, happily so soon in the history of our country, ascertained that the militia laws were very defective and that little confidence could be placed on an army so constituted that each state had a greater authority than the federal government. It became apparent that a small standing army was absolutely necessary, and that the militia, when called into action, should be considered as forming a part of that

⁴⁵ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d ser., IV, 452.

army, subject only to the militia laws of the general Government. The legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act, on the fourth day of April, 1796, erecting Uniontown into a borough and providing for the election of two burgesses on the first Monday in May, 1797, and annually thereafter. Until the election, Ephraim Douglass and Alexander MacLean were appointed burgesses, Douglass to be chief burgess.⁴⁶ How long he held the office is not known. The public records of Uniontown were some years later destroyed by fire, and the succession of officers has been lost. The population of the county was increasing very rapidly and the problem of communication with the outside world, a problem for the State and for the county to settle, was of great interest to every village and hamlet. In the absence of modern methods of travel and of transportation, roads and canals only were to be thought of. Washington devoted considerable time and study to the matter, but during his official life nothing practical was undertaken. In 1797 the building of a road over the mountains was discussed in Congress, but no action was taken.

In 1804 the General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed an act for the incorporation of the Union and Cumberland Turnpike Road Company and Ephraim Douglass, Alexander MacLean, and a number of other men were appointed commissioners to solicit subscriptions to the capital stock of the corporation. The purpose was to make a road from Laurel Hill, near Uniontown, in the direction of Cumberland, Maryland.⁴⁷

This was to be a toll road, and the State was permitted to purchase it at any time upon the payment of a stated consideration. But little progress was made with this corporation, for under an act of Congress of 1805, work was begun upon the great Cumber-

⁴⁶ *Hist. Fayette Co.*, 290. For sketch of the life of Alexander MacLean and of his wife, Sarah Holmes MacLean, see Egle's *Notes and Queries* (1896), page 209.

⁴⁷ *Hist. Fayette Co.*, 252.

land Road, a government highway which would ultimately enter the territory northwest of the Ohio river. Uniontown, at this time, was a place of considerable importance as being on the great thoroughfare known as Braddock's Road.⁴⁸ In the original plan for laying out the Cumberland road, that turnpike passed some distance from Uniontown, and the citizens were aroused at this proposal to side-track their village. "This action of the commissioners caused no little consternation at the county seat, for it was believed that the town would be ruined if the Great Cumberland Road should be laid out to pass at a distance from it."⁴⁹

A petition to Jefferson was headed by General Douglass and other citizens, and by their influence, together with the assistance of Albert Gallatin, who was also from Fayette County, Jefferson was induced to change the direction of the road, so as to pass through Uniontown.⁵⁰

Regarding the personal appearance of General Douglass, Judge Veech, who knew him personally, writes as follows:

"General Douglass was a man of high stature and

⁴⁸ Egle's *Hist. Penn.*, 729, "Lying upon the great thoroughfare from the east to the west called in the early day Braddock's Road, and afterwards the National Road, her mercantile interests prospered under the demands of masses of emigration passing through the borough, and the wants of the agricultural country around her limits."

⁴⁹ *Hist. Fayette Co.*, 258.

⁵⁰ *Messages of the Presidents*, I, 440: "The States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia having by their several acts consented that the road from Cumberland to the State of Ohio, authorized by the act of Congress of the 2d of March, 1806, should pass through those States, and the report the Commissioners communicated to Congress with my message of the 31st January, 1807, having been duly considered, I have approved of the route therein proposed for the road as far as Brownsville, with the single deviation, since located, which carries it through Uniontown."

most imposing appearance,* remarkably neat and exact in gait and dress, with long queue and powdered hair. He was a peer among the great and high-minded judges and attorney of his day — Addison, Ross, Smith, Brackenridge, Meason, Galbraith, Hadden, Lyon, Kennedy and others, enjoying their society and confidence. He had a repulsive sternness and awe-inspiring demeanor, which repelled undue familiarity and rendered him unpopular with the masses. His temper was irritable and he was subject to impetuous rage. Yet he was a man of great liberality, generous and kind to the poor, and especially a friend in need. It is said that in a season when a great scarcity of grain was threatened, he providently bought up, at fair prices, large quantities which, when the expected want of his neighbors came upon them, he sold at cost, or lent to be repaid in kind and quantity after the next harvest. But the most striking proof of his generosity is the following, which we find among his papers: (To understand its force the reader must remember that at its date General St. Clair had become old, broken in spirit, and very poor, eking out a subsistence for himself and an afflicted family by keeping a poor old log tavern by the wayside, on Chestnut Ridge Mountain, in Westmoreland).

Uniontown, 13 February, 1809.

Received of General Ephraim Douglass one hundred dollars, which I promise to repay him on demand, or at furthest by the sixth of June next. Ar. St. Clair.

Underneath which, in General Douglass' handwriting

* The portrait which forms our frontispiece is from a miniature on ivory, retouched from a pencil drawing made from life, furnished by E. Douglass King, of Washington, D. C.

is "never to be demanded. To save the feelings of an old friend I accepted this receipt, after refusing to take an obligation.

E. Douglass."⁵¹

The available histories of the time record very little of General Douglass from this time until the visit of General Lafayette to Uniontown in May 1825. Lafayette arrived in the United States in 1824 and during the space of more than a year succeeding, he traveled over that part of the country east of the Mississippi river and met with a continued round of hearty receptions. In the course of these travels he left Washington, Pa., May 26, 1825, and that afternoon was given a rousing reception by the people of Uniontown, where he slept that night. The address of welcome on the occasion was delivered by Albert Gallatin, and the proceedings of the evening are thus described in a local paper:

"At an early hour an elegant supper was served, of which the general and suite and a large company of gentlemen partook. On the right of General Lafayette was placed General Douglass, and on his left the Hon. Albert Gallatin, and to the right of General Douglass, Governor Morrow, of Ohio, and his aides, and to the left of Mr. Gallatin, Judge Baird and the Revolutionary soldiers. After supper toasts were drank and the company retired."⁵²

At this time General Douglass was one of the richest men in Uniontown. His name stands second in amount in the list of tax

⁵¹ *The Monongahela of Old*, 149. St. Clair lived at Chestnut Ridge five miles west of Ligonier. "The dwelling was a log house, situated by the side of the old State road that passed from Bedford to Pittsburg. Hither many were attracted by the fame of the noble resident, whose dignity of carriage, fire of spirit and charm of conversation were preserved in spite of his extreme age. *St. Clair Papers*, I, 252.

⁵² *Hist. Fayette Co.*, 295.

payers.⁵³ He owned lots on the south side of Elbow street, the principal street in the place, on which he built a brick house. He dispensed a general hospitality, making his home a favorite visiting-place for young and old. "The house, in which he lived all the remainder of his life, was destroyed by fire" about 1867.

General Douglass died on his farm, two miles out of Uniontown July 17, 1833. He left a will dated July 24, 1826, which was probated July 19, 1833⁵⁴ in which he appointed Ellis Bailey and Isaac Beeson executors.

By the will he gave to Ephraim Douglass and Ellen, his wife, the brick house on Elbow street, above mentioned, and the adjacent property; to Bertha, wife of Samuel Swearingen, land on the north side of Elbow street; to Louisa, wife of Samuel Minor, land on Redstone creek a mile below Uniontown; to Ann Keller, daughter of Daniel and Sarah Keller, land on the north side of Elbow street; to Douglass Keller, eldest son of Daniel and Sarah Keller, the farm on which the testator lived, containing 100 acres; all the remainder of his property he gave to Eliza Douglass,⁵⁵ Erwin Keller, Mary Keller, Sarah Keller and Harriet Keller.

CLARENCE M. BURTON.

COMMISSION OF EPHRAIM DOUGLASS

WAR OFFICE, MAY 3rd, 1783.

SIR

In pursuance of your appointment as messenger to the several Indian Nations on the Frontiers of the United States, you will, in the execution of your mission, conform to the Instructions laid down in the resolve of Congress which accompanies this Letter.

⁵³ His assessment in Uniontown in 1824 was \$4150 while that of Isaac Beeson, the only one larger than his, was \$5780. In this assessment roll appears the name of Ephraim Douglass, Jr., student. ⁵⁴ Vol. 1, p. 356, Probate office, Uniontown.

⁵⁵ Eliza Douglass is probably the Eliza King who applied for a pension Nov. 30, 1854, and who stated that she was the daughter of General Douglass.

You will announce to the diff^r Tribes the Proclamation of Congress and the Articles of Peace, and you will verbally inform the Indians that the British King has been compelled to agree to make peace with the United States, That he has fixed the Boundaries between his People and the People of the United States,— That he has agreed to evacuate and deliver up to the United States the Forts O—N—D,¹ and all other Forts occupied by him to the Southward of the line agreed upon between his people and the people of the United States.

That all the Tribes and Nations of Indians who live to the S— and W—² of the line agreed on, must no longer look to the King beyond the Water, but they must now look to the great Council, the C—³ of the United States at Philadelphia.

That the great Council of the U. S.⁴ regret that the Indians did not pay due attention to the advice which was given to them at Albany in the beginning of the late quarrel, as if they had listened to that advice they might have lived in Peace during the War, and would at this time have been exempt from all its ill consequences. In making this intimation you will point out to the Indians the great losses which they have suffered, and the calamities which they have brought upon themselves by their espousal of the cause of G. B.—You will then inform them that the U. S. are a compassionate and merciful people—that they are disposed to pity the I⁴ and to forgive their past folly, on condition that they immediately desist from further hostility, and hereafter conduct themselves as a people disposed to Enjoy the blessings of Peace which are now extended to them: But if they hesitate to accept the friendship which is now offered to them, or continue hostilities, they must expect that the U. S. who have now no other object to employ the Valour of their Warriors, will take the most severe and exemplary vengeance of the Indians.—That however

¹ Oswego, Niagara, Detroit.

² South and West.

³ Congress.

⁴ Indians.

they hope there will be no occasion to use threats or proceed to extremities—That the I— must see it is their Interest, and essential to their happiness to live in peace with the U. S. and as the U—S are disposed to enter into friendly treaty with them, they should immediately put a stop to all hostilities, call in their Warriors, assemble their Council of Wise men, and appoint some of them to meet the Commissⁿ of the U. S.— at a place to be agreed on, there to agree upon a treaty of Peace and friendship.

As the business of your mission will be facilitated by taking with you the Emblems of Peace, you will endeavor to procure all such as may be required in your interviews. You will, in the most effectual manner, and with all possible dispatch, endeavor to effect the completion of this business, in which you will employ such assistance as shall be found indispensably requisite—the strictest Economy governing all your expences.

You will extend your information to D—⁵ which place you will visit as soon as your necessary communications on the road will admit. In enclose to you a letter for the Commd. Off^r. of that Post.

M^r. Bull is charged with a Similar Commission to the Indians at Oswego & Niagara, but in case of accident to him, you will, if you should find it necessary, make the like communications to those Tribes; in which case, I think you had better return by Albany, from which place, should circumstances make it necessary, you will draw upon me for your Additional expences.

I wish you an agreeable accomplishment of your business, and am with great regard

Sir,

Your most obed^t and most humble Servant

B. LINCOLN.

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS Esq^r.

⁵ Detroit.

DELAWARE TOWN ON SANDUSKY,
June 17, 1783.

DOUGLASS TO ELLIOTT.

DEAR SIR

Abstracted from all political consideration I presume on a former intimacy of friendship to salute you on the present occasion in the language of personal friendship, and extend to you the hand of a man you once esteemed, and who still loves and esteems you.

I am sent by Congress to the Indians on a Mission of a very interesting nature, which I have suspended opening until the Shauneze shall be present. The Delawares sent a Messenger to invite their chiefs to attend, by whom I also take the liberty of entreating you to use your influence with them, and am the more earnest in this request from my horses being so weak & fatigued that it will be impossible for me to visit them, having to proceed immediately to Detroit.

You may with great truth assure them that any Message they may have received from any other quarter has not the sanction or authority of the United States, and consequently can only be binding on the Individual who sent it. By this I don't mean to lessen the validity of the message lately sent them (by whom I know not) but only to satisfy them that nothing of Peace or War can possibly be in his power.

If you can make it convenient to attend I should be happy to see you here, as well for the pleasure of taking you by the hand, as to show you the authentic papers relative to the treaty between Great Britain and America, and other Public transactions in Europe which have perhaps not yet come to your hands.

I find myself so much rusted in the Delaware tongue that I would rather speak by an interpreter than myself.

If you can prevail on Joshua Still the Jersey Indian to Come over, you will greatly oblige.

Dear Sir
Your friend and humble servant

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

Captain McCully and M^r. James Elliot present you with their Compliments and assurance that they will be glad to see you

CAPTAIN MATTHEW ELLIOTT,
Shauneze Town

Copy of a letter from Major DePeyster to Brig^r Gen^l MacLean, dated 29th June 1783 at Detroit—

DETROIT THE 29th *June* 1783.

SIR

The enclosed is this instant come to hand—I have dispatched M^r. Elliott to fetch in this favorite of Congress, least he do mischief among the Indians.

A. S. DEPEYSTER.

Brig^r Gen^l MacLean.

DETROIT 7th *July* 1783.

SIR

Now that the Missionaries from Congress are Embarked and on the point of their departure, I will mention a word to you in private.

I have shewn them Every civility consistant with my duty, during their stay at this Place—and I have great reason (from the cheerful appearance in the countenances of many, as well as their expression, and the odd notions put into the heads of the Indians) to be happy that they are embarked.—Perhaps you may think it best they should return by Lake Champlain, but in case it

should be otherwise, I will be glad of your particular directions how you would wish I should behave to them on their return here.

However great Enthusiasts those Missionaries, (as they call themselves) may be, and however willing to risk Martyrdom in the American cause, Still it would bring an eternal Slur upon me, should any drunken Indian, or any one whose Sufferings have been too great to have allowed him to listen to my Council, do them an ill turn, considering the vast tract of Country betwixt this and Fort Pitt—besides, on the other hand they would have an opportunity of delivering their message to the Indians, which they were prevented doing on their way hither by reason of the Chiefs being on their way to Detroit—that the intent of their Journey is Known amongst the Indians, I make no doubt, but as it could not be signified in form, and answers received, they are not much advanced, and matters may still remain doubtful. You, Sir, are the properest judge of this affair, and I sincerely wish the steps I have taken may meet with your approbation—Detroit is by no means a place for American Deputies to reside in until his Excellency's final orders are received.

Brigad^r General Maclean.

A. S. DE PEYSTER.

LINCOLN TO DE PEYSTER

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 3d, 1783.

SIR

Congress have directed me to take Measures to inform the several Indian Nations on the Frontier of the United States that Preliminary Articles of Peace have been agreed on, and that Hostilities have ceased with Great Britain, and to announce the Pacific disposition of the United States to the several Tribes.

M^r. Douglas, who will have the Honor of delivering this Letter is charged with this interesting and agreeable Message.—

Should he experience any Difficulty in executing his Commission
I beg leave to recommend him to you, for your assistance.

I have the Honor to be
very respectfully
Sir.

Your most obedient and most humble Servant.

B. LINCOLN.

To the Officer Commanding the
Garrison of His Britannic Majesty at Detroit.

THE ITINERARY OF DOUGLASS' JOURNEY TO DETROIT

(WRITTEN BY McCULLY)

SATURDAY July 7th, 1783. Crossed the Allegany River at 9 O'clock and proceeded Down—found the road intricate as the Bushes were lofty and in many places enterlocked in each other, so that it was impossible to follow the old path. After passing the Narrows we came to many improvements about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an Acre planted with Corn, and three or four rounds of Cabben logs laid up, these continued at a regular distance till we passed logs Town one Mile, where we halted to refresh, after one hour's stay we moved on and found the improvements continued untill we arrived at Big Beaver Creek, which we crossed and encamped at Fort McIntosh for the Night—The land which we traveled through today is good, the hills as well as low land—the timber good, and good Water, the General Course of this day west in all 80^v miles.

Sunday 8th left Fort McIntosh at 2 O'clock, passed the road leading to Newcomers' Town, crossed the first Branch of little Beaver Creek where we halted to refresh; the land Between big and little Beaver Creek is in General good; near little B. Creek the land is but thin, though appears kindly, the Timber is good, in most part white and Black Oak. After two hours' halt, moved on, the road very intricate, the land poor until we passed the second branch of little Beaver, and came on the waters of Yallow Creek where it was much better, the timber good; we halted on a small branch of Yallow Creek for the night, our course this day south of west; in all 24 miles.

Monday 9th we found ourselves this morning in a very dis-

agreeable situation as it had rained almost all night on us, our clothing wet, at 7 O'clock we started and with some difficulty passed Yallow Creek, came on to the Deviding Ridge between yallow and sandy Creek, where are two fine springs the one a branch of Yallow and the Other, of sandy Creek, here we halted to refresh for one hour, and then moved on came to three springs (the waters of Sandy Creek) where we made an other pause—distance from the other 5 miles,—moved on and crossed sandy Creek, kept down it for several miles until we came to two large plains, between which we encamped for the night, our course this day south of west in all 29 miles.

Tuesday 10th from the great quantity of rain last night we were much wetted, yet moved at 7 O'clock, and crossed many small branches of sandy creek—and one large, known to the traders by the Name of Namahshulin Creek and in five miles Gained Tuscorarie River which we found to be very high and rising very fast. Though by carrying our provisions and Baggage on our Backs we, on our horses got everything over safe. Halted on the west bank to refresh. After an hours halt, moved on passed Fort Lawrence and came to the fork of the road leading one to Ols Landing, and the other to Sandusky. Here we were at a loss, the roads entirely disappearing, and it was some time before we could determine what to do. At length, agreed to keep up Sugar Creek with a view of falling into the road that leads from the Moravian Town, and accordingly moved on, crossed Sugar Creek and passed through a large plain, which was followed by a long swamp, at the end of which we ascended a steep hill and continued along a ridge of fallen timber which was very difficult to pass. In 3 or 4 miles we came to Black Water Creek, which we crossed, and soon fell in on the Beech Run where we found traces of the road and encamped for the night. Our general course today West, the land, water and timber good, in all 27 miles.

Wednesday 11th, started this morning at 6 o'clock and con-

tinued up the Run for several miles and on quitting the run, got on a ridge well timbered, good land, which we kept for 10 miles and then halted to refresh. After an hours stay moved on and in 4 miles we came to Kill-Bucks Creek, where we made a short pause. The land for several miles before we came to this creek is exceedingly good, much fine timber, and good meadows; moved on and crossed the creek and in traveling 10 miles through a very rich soil came to Moheeking John's Town, a place well known to the traders. Here we halted for the night. A heavy rain in the day, and which still continued had obliged a large swarm of Bees to take refuge on the body of a tree where we encamped. They were our companions during our stay at the place. Our course in general today, West; in all 24 miles.

Thursday 12th, lay still this day not being able to cross John's Creek, by reason of the heavy rain.

Friday 13th, started at 6 o'clock and with much difficulty crossed the creek, it being very high, and to avoid two other crossing places went round on Elbow, where we met with intolerable swamps and thickets, but in two hours gained the road and followed it through an excellent soil, passing two Creeks until we came to Hell Town, 14 miles. Here we halted to refresh. After a stay of two hours moved on, crossed Hell Town Creek, lost the road and lost ourselves, and after two hours riding came again to Hell Town. We then took the south side of the Creek and found the road, persued it three miles and halted for the night. The course in general today, west; in all 17 miles.

Saturday 14th, started at 7 o'clock and kept up Hell Town Creek till 10, when we got lost again. In one hour found the road and kept it till we came to a large run at the foot of the dividing ridge, where we halted to refresh. After an hours halt moved on crossing the ridge and soon came to the waters of Sio. Crossed many small streams, and at sunset encamped on one. No sooner

were our horses loosed to feed, than we were saluted with an Indian hollow which was immediately answered by Mr. Douglass, and desired to come up to us. He replied it would be surprising if he would not, but was most surprised indeed when he found it was white men he was advancing to. Seeing him much alarmed Mr. Douglass and I stepped to him and took him by the hand, told our business, took every method to dissipate his fear which we soon effected. He then told us he had observed by our horses track that they were shod, but believed they had been stolen from the white people by some warriors that was then out and he had thought we were them. He also told us that he had two companions a little behind, that would soon come up and accordingly they did, and we spent the evening very sociably together. Our camp in general today south of west, in all 25 miles.

Sunday 15th, at seven o'clock we and the Indians started together and continued our course for the Daleware Town; came to Grind Stone Creek and branch of Sio to where we halted to refresh. After an hours halt moved on and came to upper Sandusky where we halted for the night. On our way today we passed through many large plains. Our course in genl north of west, in all 26 miles.

Monday 16th, we found ourselves this morning within 10 miles of the Delaware Town, and early dispatched one of the Indians to inform the Chiefs that we were coming to see them from the great Council of America, and by 10 o'clock we supposed him to be there and moved on. In riding 6 miles we met two runners who were sent by the Chiefs to inform us they were collected and ready to receive us, bidding us come on and fear nothing. We soon arrived at the town, and was saluted with a discharge of small arms and then conducted to the King's House, and visited by all the tribe that was present, who took us by the hands and appeared glad to see us. When the ceremony of shak-

ing hands was over the King arose and made the following speech:

“I rejoice, my brothers, that it has pleased God to suffer us to live to see each other once more. I am glad to see you enter my house. All my relations present rejoice to see you, my women and children are all glad of your arrival, and join in my welcome to you.

Now Brothers listen to me—

As you are come from the great Council of America, I suppose you bring us some news. Now brothers with this string (wampum—which was half black and half white) I take the briars and thorns from your feet, and legs, I wipe the sweat from your faces and bodies, the dust from your eyes, and the dust from your ears. I remove the fatigue and palpitation from your hearts, and place them straight in your bodies in their most easy and natural position. I tell you again brothers, it is good you are come but whatever you have to say I desire you will first deliver it to our Uncles the Wyandotes, and then to the Shau-nezes, our grandchildren, and afterwards to us, accompanied with a string half black and half white.” He then ordered his nephews to scour the town for something for us to eat, and desired the women to make haste and prepare victuals for us, and bade them speak friendly to us. In the meanwhile the Wyandotes arrived at the town from theirs, which is a small distance from the Delaware. Several of the principal men gave us their hand, the rest passed by and set down without taking any notice of us.

The Chief of the Delaware again addressed himself to Mr. Capt. Douglass in the following manner. “We are now, brothers, all present whom we have any reason to expect shortly, as most of our men are out hunting, Delawares as well as Wyandotes—we are all desirous of hearing something of your message to us—if you think proper to deliver it, but if you think proper, suspend it till there are more present,—we wish you to do what you think

best. The Chief of the Wyandotes is at Detroit and we can't tell when he may return."

Then Mr. Douglass took a string similar to that delivered him, thanked them for their kindly reception of him and his companions and assured them that the United States would be glad to hear that their hearts were so well disposed towards any persons sent by them. He told them he thought it would be better to defer the message until they would be able to collect the Chiefs of the neighboring tribes, that he wished them to send to Detroit for the half King of the Wyandotes, and to lower Sandusky for the Residue, and to their friends the Shaunizes. In the meantime we were much fatigued with a long journey and wished to rest a little, that by the time they would have the chiefs collected we should be recovered, and have everything in readiness to communicate all that we were charged with. In the meantime he would tell them that the message was a friendly one, and that it was now peace between us and the English. On this they determined to send to Detroit for the Wyandote Chief, and delivered the string which Mr. Douglass had given them, to a young Wyandote who refused to go—the string was returned to the Chief of the Wyandotes present who went immediately home to endeavor to get some person to go to Detroit on that business, and promised to send us word of his success. In the evening we were visited by many of the Indian women, Wyandotes as well as Delawares, also by two white women who had been made prisoners by the Indians. One of them as soon as she saw us burst into tears, and began to make a complaint of ill treatment as though we would have relieved her. The other behaved with more prudence, and bore her misfortune well. In all today, 10 miles.

Tuesday 17th. Early this morning the Delaware chief sent his nephew and one other Indian to the Shaunizes (which lived at the distance of 50 miles from the Delaware town) with the

speech Mr. Douglass had delivered them, and desired that they would attend with all possible haste. In the evening the Wyandote man returned and told us that the half King, their Chief, was expected home in two days, and that he thought it unnecessary to send to him.

Wednesday 12th, this day passed until near night (without anything happening worth notice) when two Delaware men arrived from the Shaunizes with a message delivered them by Mr. Mathew Elliot, desiring four chiefs of each tribe to repair immediately to Detroit and carry with them the hatchet they had received to stroke the Americans with, and by all means to call in all their warriors.

Thursday 19th. Passed this day without anything transpiring worth notice.

Friday 20th. We were visited today by three white men, two prisoners, and one trader. They told us many anecdotes respecting the Indian War, and they give us the names of many prisoners now in the possession of the different Indian tribes, which are as follows, viz.¹

. . . know how soon they could see us.

Monday 28rd. Early this morning the Delaware Chief re-

¹BUREAU OF PENSIONS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Upon reading this diary to-day for the first time, I find no entry for Saturday and Sunday, the 21st and 22nd, and no list of prisoners referred to in the entry of the 20th, from which I infer that said list and the entries of the dates referred to have been abstracted from the diary at some time, whether before it was turned over to the Government or since, cannot be determined.

C. M. BRYANT,
Chief O. W. and N. Division.

November 12, 1906.

ceived a message from part of his people that lived amongst the Shaunizes, desiring him to send to Detroit and let the English know that they would not attend at the time appointed, as they had to stay and hear some strange Indians that had arrived among them.

The chief then on a string of wampum sent to them again desiring them to appoint a day to meet him and us at the fork of the road, which lead to Detroit and not wait to hear anything the strangers had to say, as they could give them no answer, but to take them by the hand and bring them along to Detroit where the chiefs of the Mingo and Wyandotes would be, and then they would have a hearing to any story they had to tell, or any answer to any requisition they had to make. In the evening Capt. Snap a Wyandote Indian, waited on the Delaware chief with a message from the Shaunizes, intimating that they could not attend until they heard what the southern Indians had to say.

Tuesday 24th. By two Wyandotes that arrived here today we learned the names of the several tribes which had arrived at the Shaunizes town, and are as follows, viz.—Cherikee, Chicasaw, Coweta, Chuckta and Musco. Three of these tribes are from west Florida, and it is said that the tribe of Chuckta alone consists of 5000 fighting men.

Wednesday 25th. We were visited by Mr. McCormick and Mr. Dawson, traders from lower Sandusky who came purposely to see us. There were in company with them several of our people who had been made prisoners by the Wyandote tribe of Indians and the Indians as an indulgence had permitted them to live with the traders who paid them for their labour. These two gentlemen gave us an invitation to go and see them at a house they had four miles from where we lay, which was kept by a person employed by them. We accepted their invitation and pledged ourselves to wait on them the next day.

Thursday 26th. As soon as our horses came up in the morning we set out according to promise, accompanied by his Majesty King Pipe, and Peter his nephew, who conducted us to the place. The gentlemen received with friendship and showed much civility, and after dinner they showed us the ground where Capt. Colwell who commanded a company of rangers, disposed of them to attack Col. Crawford, and also where the Indians were posted, a place with many natural advantages and promised victory to an inferior number, and all Col. Crawford's men would certainly have fallen had not Lieut. Rose and a few volunteers who were advanced discovered the ambuscade and retreated in time to save the troops from falling into it. These gentlemen mentioned many matters respecting the engagement, and said it was owing to the folly of the Shaunizes Indians that Mr. Rose had so early discovered them.

Friday 27th. Were visited this day by a Jacob Barton who had been made prisoner by the Wyandotes, and who had been with them several times at war. He told us of others who had been at war also, and added that many amongst the Shaunize tribe, who had not been prisoners more than two years, far outdone them in cruelty to any of our unfortunate people that fell into their hands.

Saturday 28th. Nothing this day worth notice.

Sunday 29th. This day passed in silence.

Monday 30th. This morning the chief of the Delawares determined to set out for Detroit, and not wait the return of the messenger that he had sent to his people who lived among the Shaunizes, and accordingly at 11 o'clock we set out in company with his Majesty. Kept a course west of north for 12 miles where we halted to refresh. After an hours halt moved on and kept the same course for eight miles where we halted for the night. The country that we rode through today is an entire swamp excepting

four miles of a plain, and notwithstanding it is wet and swampy it carries a great deal of good timber, the largest white oak and walnut I ever saw. Here I suffered exceedingly from the assaults of the moschetoës; they were larger and more of them than I had ever before saw.

Tuesday July 5th, 1788. Moved on at 7 o'clock keeping in the same course, and in six miles crossed a creek 10 yards wide and kept the course of the creek for four miles and then quit it, soon crossed another near the same size and in two miles crossed a third larger and much wider than any of the others mentioned. Crossed the creek and in riding three miles halted to refresh at the forks of the road, where one leads to the Mining Town and the other to Detroit. After two hours halt moved on and in 5 miles met Mr. Elliot who had been detached by the Commanding Officers at Detroit to prevent our speaking with the Indians. He was also directed to conduct us to Detroit. On meeting us he turned and took us to a trading house of Mr. Abott's and Sandersons on the Taway River or the Meame [Miami], where we halted for the night and was very well entertained. All this day we traveled through a swamp, still the timber good. In all 27 miles.

Wednesday 2nd* at 9 o'clock we started and kept down the river which is beautiful, and a great number of Islands which the Indians live on heighten the prospect. We continued down the River eight miles, the road and land good. On our way down the river we saw the standing rock, which was the camp of the French calling it Tough DeBourse. After quitting the river we crossed a swamp of four miles when we halted to refresh. After two hours halt moved on, crossed a small creek and rode over sandy ridges. Encamped at sunset on a small creek and continued the night. Our course since leaving the river west of north, in all 27 miles.

Thursday 3rd. Started at 2 o'clock, kept on North East of

* Here the dates seem to be mixed.

Camp, passed several small creeks and one large, about 100 yards wide, called the River Rizen. It is a bold running stream, and they who have been much on it says that the Indians have five towns on it a long way up— They are chiefly Picks and Chipaways that live on it—after riding 24 miles we halted to refresh on the bank of a small creek. After an hours halt moved on and in six miles came to River Earen.¹ It is about 20 yards wide and at no time fordable owing to its connection with Lake Erie. We found on the water a small bark canoe that we and our baggage crossed in. Our horses swam. As soon as everything was over we moved on; passed many bad swamps and in six miles came to the Detroit River, where we encamped all night. Our course in general today east of north. The land we rode through today is a mixture of good and bad. In all 36 miles.

Friday 4th. Moved on this morning at 6 o'clock and kept up the Detroit river Ocorse², 30 yards broad. This river we ferried, though at times it can be rode. As soon as our baggage was over we moved on and in three miles came to the River Ruch.³ It is about 20 yards broad and is at no time fordable. From this river to Mr. Browns is one mile and a half, where we halted to breakfast and clean ourselves, being within one-half mile of Detroit.

¹ Huron.

² Fcorce.

³ Rouge.

REPORT OF EPHRAIM DOUGLASS TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR, 1783.

PRINCETON, 18th *August*, 1783.

Sir:

In obedience to the instructions you honored me with on the 5th of May last, I have used every endeavour in my power to execute in the fullest manner your orders, and give effect to your wishes; and though I have not had all the success I at first hoped, I flatter myself the following report will not only shew that I have attempted all in my power, but that essential good consequences may justly be hoped from my endeavours to obey your Commands. On the 7th of June, I left Fort Pitt and travelling about two hundred miles by the old trading path, arrived on the 16th. at the Delaware and Huron settlements on the Sandusky River, but before I reached the villages I fell in with two young Delawares who had known me formerly, appeared rejoiced to see me, and conducted me to the principal town of that Tribe. Captain Pipe, who is the principal man of the Nation, received me with every demonstration of joy, welcomed me in the most friendly manner and treated me with greater Civility than is usual with them in time of profound Peace. In a speech of gratulation which he delivered on my arrival, he felicitated me and my Companions on our safety through a long and dangerous wilderness, and himself, on seeing his brethren of the United States once more enter his door in a peaceable and friendly manner; but told me, as his Nation was not the principal one, nor had voluntarily engaged in the War, it would be proper for me first to communicate my business to the Hurons and Shau-neze, and afterwards to the Delawares. That he had announced my arrival to the Hurons, and expected such of them as were

at home would very shortly be over to see and welcome me. This soon happened as he had expected, but as none of their Chiefs were present, I declined speaking publickly to them, knowing that I could receive no authentic answer, and unwilling to expend unnecessarily the Wampum I had prepared for this occasion. I informed them for their satisfaction, of the peace with England, and told them that the United States were disposed to be in friendship with the Indians also—desired them to send for their head men, particularly for the Half King, who had gone to Detroit; to send also to the Shauneze and such of the Six Nations and Delawares as live on the Miami River, and that when these were all present, I would deliver to them publickly the particulars of the business I was charged with.

They all readily agreed to this proposal, and returned to their homes apparently very well satisfied; but the Hurons nevertheless failed sending to Detroit, partly thro' the want of authority in the old men present, and partly through the assurances of the wife of the half King, who was confident her Husband would be home in two days, and therefore a journey which would require six or seven was altogether unnecessary.

The Pipe sent away for those on the Miami agreeable to his promise, and learning that Mr. Elliot, one of the agents in the Indian Department, resided with the Shauneze and must necessarily be acquainted with my coming, I wrote to him by the Pipe's Express, requesting him to concur with our Messenger in communicating to the Shauneze, and that I was charged with a Message from the United States and desired them to attend as soon as possible. I also gave him an invitation to be present if he could make it convenient. Though I promised to myself very little from this Letter, I knew it could do no possible harm, and though I did not hope he would give himself any trouble to serve me, I thought the possibility that the compliment of it might prevent his opposition worth the trouble of writing it.

On the evening of the 18th a runner arrived from the Miami with intelligence that Mr. Elliot had received dispatches from Detroit announcing the arrival of Sir John Johnson at that place, that in consequence, the Chiefs and Warriors were desired to repair thither in a few days, where a Council would be held with them. They were also directed to take with them the War or Tomahawk Belts, which had been delivered to them by the King to strike the Americans with. This was an intimation which had been long expected but never till now received; for though they had been repeatedly forbidden to continue at War against the Americans the Tomahawk had still remained in their hands, which is a deviation from the ancient Customs of the Indians, and therefore the more astonishing to them.

I perceived that this invitation would necessarily draw off a number of the principal men, but determined to wait the return of our Messenger before I would take any further resolution, and in this suspense I continued till the evening of the 22d, when he returned with speeches from the Chiefs in that Quarter, imparting that they had made every preparation for coming agreeable to our requests to hear what I had to say to them, but just when they were ready to mount their horses, they were stopped by the arrival of ten men who preceded a body of sixty other Southern Indians coming upon business from the Nations North and East of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. That in consequence of their coming they would be obliged to delay their visit to us for a few days, but would not fail to come so soon as they heard the business of these people; could not however determine how soon.

The intervention of this unexpected delay, the uncertainty where it would end—the anxiety of the Sandusky Indians to obey the summons from Detroit, the absence of the Half King, who was no longer expected till after the Treaty there, and the certainty of receiving no answer when he was not in Council, induces

me to yield to the importunity of the Pipe, and attend to his representations. He pressed me to accompany him to Detroit, assuring me that it would be useless to wait the coming of the Indians from the Miami, that they would spend their time in useless Counseling there till the Treaty at Detroit would come on, and that if I even could assemble them I could obtain nothing from the Interview—That if the Half King was present he would not undertake to give me an answer without consulting the Chiefs of the Huron Tribe at Detroit, and that these would determine another without first asking the advice of their Father the Commandant.

Finding that I had little hope from continuing at Sandusky, and likely to effect as little by visiting the Miami if my Horses had even been able to have performed the Journey, I determined to proceed to Detroit by the nearest route, though I began to be doubtful I should not succeed in my wishes there; determined however to leave nothing unattempted which promised even a probability of success, I concurred with the Pipe in a message to the Miami Indians, desiring that rather than wait to hear the dispatches of these Southern Indians, they should advise them to continue their Journey to Detroit, where they would certainly meet the Six Nations, to whom their business must be ultimately delivered, as the Deputation in consequence of which they had performed so long and difficult a journey, had originally proceeded from them. We desired them to send us an answer in three days what Resolution they would take and when we should meet them where the roads unite, that we might go together to Detroit.

We waited till the 29th in hopes of receiving an answer but none came, 'tho we had several Messages, some intimating that they could not come over to us, and desiring the Hurons and Delawares to attend at the Shawnese Towns. Other accounts said the Chiefs of that Nation were gone to Detroit.

We now made every preparation for our departure, but fear-

ing I might not again have so good an opportunity, I made use of this to give the Pipe every information respecting my business, and to explain to him the Preliminary Articles of peace, which I found had not only never been communicated to them by authority, but that the accidental information they had occasionally received had been in some respects contradicted by the Officers of the Crown; particularly that part which relates to the evacuation of the posts on the Lakes.

I left Sandusky on the 30th, accompanied by the Pipe and two other Indians in addition to my former Companions, and travelled onwards to Detroit till the afternoon of the 1st of July when we were met by Mr. Elliot and three other persons from that place, whom the Commandant had dispatched for the purpose of conducting us thither.

The Indians who had left the Towns after my arrival had given the intelligence at Detroit, and the Letter I had written to Mr. Elliot had also been carried there by some of those from the Miami. In consequence of this Colonel DePeyster had sent Mr. Elliot to me with a Letter No. 1.¹

I was now nearly half way from Sandusky to Detroit, and could neither take or alter a resolution in consequence of this Letter, but continue my journey with my new companions—till the 4th when I arrived at Detroit, where I was received with much politeness and treated with great Civility by the Commandant, to whom I delivered your Letter, shewed your instructions and pressed for an opportunity of communicating them to the Indians as soon as might be. He professed the strongest desire of bringing about a reconciliation between the United States and the several Indian Nations,—declared that he would willingly promote it all in his power; but that until he was authorized by his Supe-

¹ The papers referred to by numbers have not been found. Some of the letters of Douglass, on this occasion, are given herewith.

riors in Command, he could not consent that any thing should be said to the Indians relative to the boundary of the United States; for though he knew from the King's Proclamation that the war with America was at an end, he had had no official information to justify his supposing the States extended to this place, and therefore could not consent to the Indians' being told so; especially as he had uniformly declared to them, that he did not know these Posts were to be evacuated by the English. He had no objection, he said, to my communicating the friendly offers of the United States,—and would cheerfully make known to them the substance of your Letter to him.

In the morning of the 5th, I received an intimation from Colonel DePeyster, through Captain McKee, that it was his wish I would go on to Niagara, so soon as I had recovered from the fatigue of my journey.

In consequence of this I waited on him in the afternoon, and pressed with greater warmth than yesterday, the necessity of my speaking to the Indians and receiving an answer from them. I pressed him to suffer me to proceed on my business without his interference, and offered him my word that I would say nothing to them respecting the limits of the States, but confine myself to the offer of Peace or choice of War, and the Invitation to Treaty. He would not retract his resolution without further orders from the Commander in Chief, and I was obliged to submit however unwillingly. But must do him the justice to acknowledge that he made every offer of civility and service, except that which he considered inconsistent with his Duty.

On the 6th I attended the Council which Colonel DePeyster held with the Indians, to which he had yesterday invited me. After delivering his business of calling them together, he published to them your Letter and pressed them to continue in the strictest amity with the Subjects of the United States,—represented to

them the folly of continuing hostilities, and assured them that he could by no means give them any future assistance against the people of America.

At this meeting were the Chiefs of eleven Indian Nations, comprehending all the Tribes as far South as the Wabash. They were Chipewas, Otawas, Wyandots or Hurons, Shawneze, Delawares, Kickaboos, Oweochtanoos, Miamis, Pootawotamies and Pienkishas with a part of the Senecas; most of whom gave evident marks of their Satisfaction at seeing a subject of the United States in that Country. They carried their civilities so far that my lodging was all day surrounded with crowds of them when at home, and the Streets lined with them to attend my going abroad; that they might have an opportunity of seeing and saluting me, which they did not fail to do in their best manner, with every demonstration of joy.

On the morning of the 7th I took my leave of Colonel De Peyster, after having received more civilities from him than the limits of this report will suffer me to enumerate; but not 'till I had the honor of writing to you by my Guide, whom I directed to return to Fort Pitt so soon as the Pipe should be ready to return to Sandusky, on whom I depended for his safe conduct thither, and to provide one to accompany him to Fort Pitt.

I arrived at Niagara on the 11th, was introduced to General MacLean who was prepared for my coming, delivered him Colonel DePeyster's Letter and was received with every mark of attention but he declined entering upon any business this Day.

In the morning I waited again on the General at his request. He asked for my Instructions which I produced, and afterwards, at his request, the Resolve of Congress alluded to. He expressed an earnest desire that the Indians should live in peace with the United States, declared that he had most effectually put a stop to

all hostilities, and had already given you this Information,—that he would be answerable for their future good conduct provided they were not molested by us—regretted that he had not at present such information as would justify his concurring with me, or even permitting me to call the Indians together—that he had every reason to expect Sir John Johnson very soon, who he supposed would bring such instructions as would remove every difficulty,—that however he considered the purport of my message anticipated by the pains which had been taken to dispose the Indians to peace, which appeared to be the grand object of Congress.

In case Sir John did not arrive in two or three days as he expected he proposed to me the alternative of continuing downward to the Commander in Chief or of furnishing him with Copies of my Instructions and the Resolve of Congress which he would transmit to him for his orders thereon. He lamented that mischievous people among us took too much pains to alarm the minds of the Indians in this quarter, by inventing and propagating speeches, which the Indians were taught to believe came from persons in power among the Americans. In proof of this he produced the proceedings of a Council lately held with the Indians, which contains an alarming speech said to have been sent to them by General Schuyler. At my request he gave me a Copy of it with his own remarks at the bottom, No. 2.

In consequence of this speech and his assurances to the Indians, the Six Nations had sent to that part of the Oneida Tribe which had remained in the Interest of the States, forbidding them to bring any future messages, but such as was written or otherwise visible in Belts or Strings. That they would be glad to hear in this manner whatever the United States had to say to them.

Colonel Butler the Superintendent at the post was sent for and corroborated every thing that the General said of the peaceable disposition of the Indians, unless they were compelled to a con-

trary conduct by the Americans' seizing on their Lands, which both asserted the Six Nations would never quietly submit to. They recommended the measure of Congress sending some person to give them assurances respecting their Lands, if it was their intention to leave them to the natives, and the General offered to promote it with all his Interest, to be answerable for the safety of the Commissioners and also engage for the Indians' good behaviour and willingness to meet the Commissioners of Congress at any place after receiving such assurance.

Captain Brant came from the Mohawk Village to see me, and was introduced by the General, in whose presence we had a conversation on the subject of the Indians' Lands—Brant insisted that they would make a point of having them secured before they would enter into any farther or other Treaty. In the evening I had a private conference with him at his own request, in which I explained to him in the most circumstantial manner every thing relating to my business with the Indians, and had a good deal of friendly argument with him on the subject, too long to insert here.

On the evening of the 18th, I received a note from the General requesting a Copy of my Instructions, &c., to send to the Commander in Chief to facilitate business, No. 3. I sent him word that he should be obeyed, and early in the morning I began to execute my promise, but before I had finished copying them, I received a verbal message that he wished to see me at his quarters. I finished the Copies and waited on him with them.

He informed me that he had sent for me to show me the Copy of a Letter he was writing to Colonel DePeyster. It contained instructions to that Gentleman in consequence of my representations of the murders committed by the Western Indians in the course of the last spring, and since by his account, they had been positively forbid to be guilty of any such outrage. He pressed Colonel DePeyster very earnestly to examine into this affair,—to

forbid the Indians in the most positive manner to be guilty of such future misconduct,—to order them to deliver up immediately such prisoners as they had captured through the spring into the hands of himself or his officers,—and further to tell them that if they did not desist from these practices the British Troops would join the Americans to punish them.

He afterward read me the Copy of a Letter which he had written you in answer to yours by Mr. Bull. Not doubting that this Letter is in your possession, I only mention it as it was the introduction to an address to me containing the same sentiments, which ended in an intimation that I might return home as soon as I thought proper, and whenever I pleased he would furnish me with a Boat & men to carry me to Oswego, would afford me every other assistance in his power and write to Major Ross the Commandant at that place to give me every assistance I should require.

I soon concluded that this invitation to leave the place arose from the importunacy of the Indians to hear publicly the message which my coming had promised them, and his refusing permission to Captain Brant to take me on a visit to the Mohawk Castle convinced me of the justice of this conclusion.

I employed such arguments as I expected would be most likely to prevail on him to permit me to speak to the Chiefs publicly before my departure, and answered (as I thought) all his objections, one of which was to that part of my instructions which said the King had been compelled to make peace, which he said would convey to the Indians the Idea of his being conquered, and might induce them to an insolence of behaviour that would become disagreeable to him and perhaps injurious to the service. To remove every exception on this head I offered to suppress the word *compelled* but he avoided giving me any direct answer to this proposal,—insisted much on the pacific disposition of the Indians, again pledged himself for their behaviour; assured me of their de-

sire to cultivate the friendship of the Americans, and declared that he was authorized by the Chiefs to tell me so. He then informed me that previous to my arrival the Chiefs had applied to him to write to his Excellency General Washington on their behalf with offers of friendship, and regretted that he had not such orders as would justify him in doing it, especially before the Superintendent General had made the proper communications to the Indians on the part of the Crown.

Frustrated in every attempt to obtain a public audience of the Indians and receive their answer to your message, I wrote to General MacLean on the 16th for his refusal in writing (No. 4) which he immediately gave me (No. 5) and on the same day I set off for Oswego, after having experienced from General MacLean every species of polite attention, except that which duty as well as inclination bid me most wish for, and every civility from his Officers, and from the Officers in General at all the Posts I had occasion to visit.

Sensible how difficult it is to say just enough on any subject, I am afraid I have protracted this report to too great a length and yet I suppressed so many remarks and conversations which were interesting at the time, that I am also afraid I have not been sufficiently explicit. I have confined myself to bare recital, without any commentary of my own, to avoid the imputation of obtruding opinion where it might be considered my duty to relate facts existing abstractedly. But I will hope your forgiveness for saying that the assiduity of the British Commanders to restrain the Indians from hostilities still wanted the visit which by your command I have made them, to satisfy the Indians that they had nothing to fear from the enmity of the States. They are now convinced from my risking such a journey through their Country and from the communications I have made to them individually on my way, not only of our friendly Sentiments toward them, but

also of our confidence in theirs, which must in some degree beget a similar confidence in them. And though I bring no public answer from the Chiefs, owing to the motives of duty or policy which opposed it, I think myself sufficiently authorized from the many opportunities I had of learning their Sentiments, both from themselves and the Whites who are in their confidence, to assert that I know them to be heartily tired of the war and sincerely disposed to Peace.

I have the honor to be,
with the highest respect Sir,
Your very humble and most obedient servant,
EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

The Honble, Major General Lincoln,
Secretary at War.



GEORGE McCULLY

NOT much can be ascertained regarding the life of George McCully. One writer has stated that he was acquainted with Ephraim Douglass before the Revolution, and that they were associated in the Indian trade. Another account refers to him as being a land owner in Oxford, Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1774.¹ He was in Pittsburg in 1774 and signed the memorial protesting against the acts of John Connolly, who was representing Lord Dunmore.² In the fall of 1775 a company was raised in Lancaster county for the purpose of joining Arnold in his expedition against Quebec. In the previous June another company, of which William Hendricks was captain, was organized in Cumberland county. This company left Carlisle July 15, 1775, and reached Cambridge on the eighth of August. Subsequently both companies proceeded to Quebec. There were eighty-five men in Hendricks' company and sixty-five in that of Captain Matthew Smith. It is claimed that McCully was in the Arnold expedition, and if he was it is very probable that he was in one of these companies, for these were the only Pennsylvania troops in this expedition.

He must have returned home before the siege was completed for we find him commissioned as an ensign in Captain William Butler's company, January 5, 1776, and promoted to Second Lieutenant September 20th following. They were at Ticonderoga in November, 1776, but the company disbanded and re-enlisted in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, and McCully was pro-

¹ The Journals of the two Companies, written by Capt. William Hendricks and John Joseph Henry are both published in *Penn. Arch.*, 2d Series, Vol. XV. McCully's name is not in any published list of either company.

² *Hist. Alleghany Co.*, 44.

moted to first lieutenant January 1, 1777, and to captain in October, 1777. He retained the rank of captain till he retired January 17, 1781.

Of the other expeditions, skirmishes and battles that McCully was in we have no direct record. He was in the Third Regiment and was frequently promoted, as the records show. The regiment was under the command of Colonel Thomas Craig throughout the war, and was present at the siege of Yorktown, though it took no active part in that affair.³

McCully was at Princeton when Douglass was appointed United States commissioner, and accompanied him from that place to Pittsburg, and so on to Detroit as narrated by him.

The journal which we have and which is here reproduced is apparently only a fragment, and not an original document. It is filed in the War Department at Washington, and while a very ancient document, shows evidence of having been copied from some other paper.

McCully's travels to Detroit and back to Pennsylvania are set forth in the two journals annexed. Within a short time after his return from the west, and on September 30, 1783,^{3a} he was married to Ann Irish, daughter of Nathaniel Irish, a Captain in the Artificers.⁴ She was born December 29, 1760, and survived him. He was commissioned Brevet Major U. S. A. October 10, 1783.⁵

The Indian troubles in the western part of Pennsylvania did not cease with the making of peace with England, and the gov-

³ "A third Pennsylvania battalion arrived just as the operations came to an end.

It was under Colonel Craig and Lieutenant-Colonel Mentges"—*The Yorktown Campaign*, H. P. Johnston, p. 115.

^{3a} *Old Westmoreland*, L. 191.

⁴ George McCully owned sixty acres of land in Chester, Co., *Penn. Arch.*, 3d series, XII, 71.

⁵ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, X, 448, 451.

ernment fitted out an expedition under General Josiah Harmar to bring the savages to terms. Harmar met the Indians in battle and was disastrously defeated. In 1791 another expedition was fitted out for the same purpose and placed under the command of General Arthur St. Clair, then governor of the Northwest Territory. He also was defeated, and the second defeat so emboldened the Indians that they entertained hopes of being able to drive the white men out of the country. A council with them was called at Philadelphia and an agreement entered into that would ensure future peace, but before the Indian chiefs had returned to their homes and tribes, the rangers or scouts from Pittsburg had shot and murdered many Indians on the frontier, who were claimed to be peaceable and innocent people. Such actions indicated that the white men were not to be trusted, even in their peace-making, and the Indian depredations rapidly increased. General Wayne was entrusted with a third expedition against the Indians in 1792 and assembled an army, for that purpose, at Pittsburg. Before the appointment of Wayne, McCully had been appointed Major of six months' militia of Pennsylvania and collected three companies to protect the frontier of his state.

The itinerary of the next few months is as follows: He was at Fort Franklin December 26, 1791 and, wrote that Cornplanter, the Indian chief, advised that the women at Fort Franklin be immediately sent to Pittsburg for safety.⁶ He then proceeded to Philadelphia to make arrangements for supplies and ammunition, and started for Pittsburg, being nine days on the way, reaching there about March 2, 1792. Not hearing from his officers, who were recruiting, after remaining in Pittsburg a few days he went to Washington, Pennsylvania, and then returned. A deep snow covered the country, and it was not only difficult for troops to march but still more difficult to get them from their homes to enlist.

On March 31st he was in Greensburg on his way to the fron-

⁶ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, IV, 678, 716.

tiers of Westmoreland, hurrying up some of the militia. By the sixth of April he had returned to Pittsburg and complained of the unnecessary delay in obtaining camp equipage. He remained in Pittsburg for some time, for there are letters from him as late as May 30th, from that place. During this time he requested General Knox, Secretary of War, to give him an appointment in the Rifle corps in the regular army.

He was at Coe's Station June 27, 1792, and there his troops shot the first Indian of the season. His report of the transaction is as follows:

“One of my scouting parties, under the command of Lieut. Cooper, fell in with two (Indians) twelve miles above Kitaning. They attempted to save themselves by flight, but the guard instantly fired and one fell dead with nine balls through him. I must blush when I mention that they fetched the scalp in.”

Active preparations by Wayne had been carried on for some time, in the collection of men and materials for his invasion of the Indian country, and as the terms of enlistment of the militia was soon to expire,¹ there was an effort made to have these men re-enlist in the Federal service in the Legion of the United States, as Wayne's army was officially designated. To accomplish this result, the Secretary of War wrote to Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, July 11, 1792:

“The troops of the United States will soon arrive on the frontiers of this State, in considerable numbers, and a sufficient portion thereof will remain there, until the effect of certain pacific overtures to the Indians shall be

¹ They were enrolled for six months only.

known. In this state of things and as the time for which the State troops were raised is drawing to a close, I beg leave to know whether it would be compatible with the views and arrangements of your excellency to permit the continental officers recruiting in this State to endeavor to enlist such non-commissioned officers and privates of the said companies, as shall be inclined thereto."⁸

To this letter Secretary Dallas attached a series of proposals relative to the employment of the militia, the fifth item of which was "that a copy of these instructions be sent to Major McCully, inclosed in a letter of thanks to him and his corps, and recommending to the men either to volunteer as spies or to enlist in the Federal troops."⁹

Major McCully having entered the service of the United States under Wayne,¹⁰ the payment of the militia was entrusted to Colonel John Wilkins, Jr., and he reported on December 21, 1792, that McCully was absent from Pittsburg but was expected to return soon.¹¹

Wayne delayed his departure from Pittsburg for a long time, for two reasons. First, he was constantly drilling his troops and filling the ranks by enlistment, feeling that the principal causes for the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair were that their soldiers were not prepared to meet an enemy fighting as the Indians did. Second, negotiations were proceeding on the part of the government looking to a general treaty with the Indians that would terminate

⁸ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, IV, 732.

⁹ *Penn. Arch.*, 2d series, vol. IV, 734, 740.

¹⁰ The orderly books of General Wayne are printed in vol. 84, of *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Soc. Collections*. Some of the books were lost and the record is therefore imperfect.

¹¹ There are three letters on this subject in *Penn. Arch.*, 2d ser., vol. IV, 742, 743, and 744.

the depredations and prevent the invasion of their country.¹² In November or December, 1792, Wayne marched with his army from Pittsburg, but went only a short distance, to Legionville, where he remained until the eighth of the following May.

Major McCully was appointed hospital store keeper at Hobson's Choice August 3, 1793, and continued to hold that position until his death.¹³

He resided on the Monongahela River at the mouth of Nine Mile Run above Pittsburg and died at Fort Washington, November 24, 1793,¹⁴ then being in the Commissary department under Colonel James O'Hara.

His widow, Ann, was allowed a pension September 11, 1837. She was then residing at Pittsburg with Boyle Irwin, who had married her only child, Eliza McCully.

¹² A detailed account of this attempt at a treaty is given in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Soc.*, 31, 477.

¹³ *Mich. Hist. Soc.*, 34, page 460.

¹⁴ Fort Washington was at Cincinnati. Wayne's army had left this place in October and had proceeded north, leaving McCully with the garrison at the fort.

NOTES

Arent Schuyler DePeyster was one of the New York family of that name, which has given so many distinguished members to the public service, the latest being General John Watts DePeyster, (1821-1909).

Arent was the great-grandson of Johannes, founder of the family (1600-1685). Born in New York City, June 27, 1736, he entered the British army (Eighth Foot) in 1755, and during the Revolution was in command at Detroit and various places in Canada, and exercised a great influence over the Indians, whom he made firm adherents to the British cause. He became Colonel of his regiment and finally sailed for Great Britain, settling in Dumfries, Scotland, where he remained until his death in November, 1832. He was the oldest officer in the British army at the time. In Dumfries he aided in raising a regiment of militia for defense against the expected French invasion. Robert Burns was a member of the force, and dedicated his poem of *Life* to Colonel DePeyster. All the family were Tories during the Revolution. Abraham, nephew of our subject was second in command at King's Mountain. Frederick, Abraham's brother, was a captain in the "New York Volunteers," and James, a lieutenant in the "King's Americans."

Allan MacLean (1725-1781) was with Wolfe at Quebec and was the mainstay of the defense of Quebec against Arnold and Montgomery in 1775. He was afterward stationed at Fort Niagara, and took part with his regiment at Eutaw Springs. He eventually became a brigadier-general. He is frequently confounded with Sir Allan MacLean, of Torloisk, Scotland, an entirely different person. Appletons' *Cyclo. of Am. Biog.* makes this mistake.

THE following are copies and extracts from letters pertaining to the expedition.

Extract from a letter of DePeyster to MacLean dated Detroit, July 7, 1783. *Mich. Hist. Soc. XX. 137.*

“The (Indian) chiefs are very thinly accompanied, most of the Indians being out hunting. Those who came in, are the principals who otherwise would have been spoken with by two Deputies from Congress, whom Mr. Elliott met within a few miles of this place on their direct road hither. These sir, are Mr. Douglass and Captain McCully mentioned in the dispatch I lately sent you. Mr. Douglass appears to be a shrewd, sensible man, his companion rather more open—both genteel men. They delivered me a letter directed to the officer commanding His Britannic Majesty’s Forces at Detroit. This letter is nearly a direct copy of the one sent you from General Lincoln dated at Philadelphia 3d May, 1783. I observed to Mr. Douglass that the subject of General Lincoln’s Letter should be by me communicated, to the Indians. They, however, have been long since restrained from going to war, by orders of His Excellency the Commander in Chief. Then Mr. Douglass showed me his Instructions which are of such a nature that I can by no means admit of their being delivered to the Indians here, where His Excellency’s final orders are not yet arrived. I observed that as Commandant of Detroit, I was yet uninformed that the Posts were to be given up, or how the line was to strike. He then observed that Congress took it for granted that I had received my orders before now. I have made these gentlemen sensible that the Indians in

the vicinity of Detroit will (even should the Post be given up) fall on the other side. That therefore they cannot listen to them, and that the Delawares, Shawanese, Wiandotts, Mingoes, &c., will never act but with the concurrence of the Six Nations, on whose determination Peace or War with those Indians will much depend, and as the business they are come upon is of a very delicate nature I advise them to wait upon you at Niagara, where they may also have the chance to meet with the Superintendent-General and Inspector-General of Indian Affairs, which they have agreed to, and I have allowed their guide to return to Fort Pitt, lest the People there should be alarmed at their being detained."

Extract from a letter of Major DePeyster to Brig. Gen. MacLean, dated Detroit, July 17, 1783. In *Mich. His. Soc.* XX, 145.

"You will, I hope, before this reaches you, have dispatched the Missionaries from General Lincoln, round by Oswego, or Lake Champlain; it would now be very dangerous for them to travel from hence to Fort Pitt."

Extract from a letter of Gen. MacLean to DePeyster, dated at Niagara, July 8, 1783. *Mich. Hist. Soc.* XX, 138.

"I am favored with your letter of the 29th June enclosing the copy of a letter from Ephraim Douglas to Capt. Elliott of the Indian Dept. Ephraim is a suspicious name, I therefore am glad you have sent to bring him in to Detroit, for we really cannot be too much on our guard against these designing Knaves, for I do not believe the world ever produced a more deceitful or dangerous set of men than the Americans: and now they are become such Arch-Politicians by eight years' practice, that were old Matchioavell¹ alive, he might go to school

¹ Machiavelli.

to the Americans to learn Politics more crooked than his own; we therefore cannot be too cautious. It is something very extraordinary that Mr. Douglass should attempt to assemble the Indians under your nose, and even write for one of your own principal Indian Managers to come and wait upon him with one of your Interpreters, without taking the least notice of you. I should apprehend his first step ought to have been to come to Detroit and produce his Credentials to you. The Americans being now Independent States will say, they have a right to send Ambassadors or Emissaries to whom they please, without our consent—no doubt they may to all nations that we know of but in the present case, with respect to our Indians, I am of a different opinion, it being clearly an exception to the Rule—The Indians get this day from the King's Stores the bread they are to eat to-morrow, and from his magazines the clothing that covers their nakedness; in short, they are not only our allies, but they are a part of our Family; and the Americans might as well (while we are in possession of these Posts) attempt to seduce our children & servants from their duty and allegiance, as to convene and assemble all the Indian Nations, without first communicating their intentions to His Majesty's Representative in Canada These are my sentiments, and I shall not alter them till I am otherwise instructed by the Commander in Chief; and if any such person as Ephraim Douglas comes to assemble the Six Nations I shall certainly bring him in here and keep him till I send for Instructions to General Haldimand.

Mr. Douglas must be a curious fellow truly, in writing to Capt. Elliot that he may assure the Indians, that what they have received from any other Quarter, *but through*

him is without the sanction or authority of the United States. He does not know then, that I had a Letter from General Washington on that subject, and another Letter from General Lincoln, President of the Board of War of the United States, wrote by the express order of Congress—His ignorance of these matters would make me imagine that he is an arch imposter.”

Extract from a letter of Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean to Gen. Frederick Haldimand, dated Niagara, July 9, 1783. In *Mich. Hist. Soc.*, XX, 140:

Herewith I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the Copy of a Letter I received from Major Depeyster together with the copy of a Letter wrote by one Ephraim Douglas. Mr. Douglas's Letter explains itself so fully that I need not trouble your Excellency by saying anything about it. I wrote to Major DePeyster yesterday on the subject of Mr. Douglass' mission, and I herewith enclose a copy of my letter to Major Depeyster for your Excellency's Perusal, in hopes that you may approve of my sentiments on the subject; but that if on the contrary you should disapprove of my ideas that you will send me instructions how to act, for I really confess the present conduct of the Americans is very new to me, and that I am at a loss how to treat people that act in so uncommon a manner, at the same time, I am fully determined to act in the manner I have mentioned to Major Depeyster, till I have the good fortune to receive your Excellency's farther orders how I am to act with this impudent people. There is little doubt but the Delaware Indians that came to Cadaragows, are come at the request of Mr. Ephraim Douglas—at least I suspect that to be the case.

Extract from a letter of Brig. Gen. Allan MacLean to Gen. Frederick Haldimand, dated Niagara, July 17, 1783. In *Mich. Hist. Soc.*, XX, 146:

SIR:

I have the honor herewith to transmit to your Excellency Copies of two Letters from Major DePeyster, which letters will inform you of the Proceedings of the Major, respecting the Commissioners of Congress to the Indian Nations. On the Evening of the 10th these Commissioners arrived here, where they were treated with every kind of civility and freedom, excepting that of communicating their Instructions to the Six Nations, that being a matter beyond my reach, without first having your Excellency's orders—Indeed the nature of these Instructions was such as, in my humble opinion, rendered them improper to be communicated to the Six Nations, while we remain in the possession of the Upper Posts, Except your Excellency should order the contrary— Mr. Douglas appears to be a shrewd, sensible man, but he has conducted himself while here with Propriety, yet I found it would be impossible to detain him and his companion here, to wait for your Excellency's Instructions, or the arrival of Sir John Johnson (as either of these events were uncertain) without their having opportunities of frequent intercourse with the Indians as Mr. Douglas speaks several different dialects of the Indian Nations, and notwithstanding all my attention Captain Brant had a conversation with them, but it was of his seeking and not theirs; I therefore found it necessary to let them go, after remaining here six days and I sent a Batteau with serjeant and seven of the King's men and 34th [Regiment] to conduct them to Oswego, sober good men; they went off Perfectly contented with their reception here. I also

enclosed for your Excellency's Information a copy of Mr. Douglas's Instructions and also a copy of a Resolve of Congress upon which these Instructions are founded, and I request that I may honored be with your commands, to direct me how I am to act. I had some conversation with Mr. Douglass, and he candidly confessed, that part of his instructions had much better been omitted; I had almost told him they were insolent; but I thought it was best to be moderate.

Mr. Douglass and his companion Capt. McCully left this on the 16th, at one o'clock, at Twelve I received a Letter from him, and at one I sent him an answer; copy of his Letter with my answer I have the honor, to transmit to your Excellency—had I proposed to these Commissioners to go to Canada I am convinced they would have accepted of the offer, but I did not think it was proper or necessary at this time to give your Excellency that trouble, as they had no authority for that purpose. Upon the whole I have endeavoured to act in this Business as I thought best for His Majesty's Service, and I am not without hopes that both Major Depeyster's conduct and my own, will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

